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WORKING PAPERS ON PORNOGRAPHY AND PROSTITUTION

Report # 9

A REPORT ON PROSTITUTION IN THE PRAIRIES

by
M. Lautt

POLICY, PROGRAMS
AND RESEARCH BRANCH

RESEARCH AND
STATISTICS SECTION

Canada

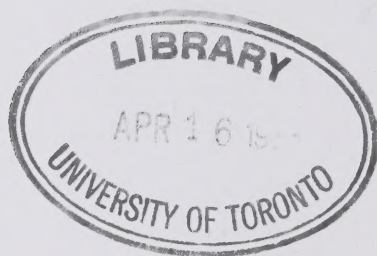
PROJECT T.A.P.
TOWARDS AN AWARENESS
OF PROSTITUTION

An Empirical Study of Street
Prostitution in the
Prairie Region

by
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August, 1984





Acknowledgments

My first thoughts of thanks automatically go to my research team. They were a group of extremely competent, diligent, independent and reliable workers. I can only hope our association on this project has benefited them as much as it has benefited me. Thanks to Lorna Doerkson for slugging away in Saskatoon to finish up loose ends, and being a companion while we interviewed the males in prison. The 'travelling roadshow'; Marni Allison, Alana Crozier, Susan Robertson, and Marie Sakowski, I'm sure will never be the same again. The data in this study are rich because these four refused to be intimidated by threats, accepted long hours in sleazy places, and wouldn't take no for an answer. My deepest appreciation.

The team's thanks must go to the people whose lives are laid bare in this study. Many of them risked much to tell their stories. I hope it will not be wasted.

Finally, thanks must go to my family, Wayne and Mick and Kelly, for not asking too often why their mother was 'hanging out with hookers'!

Only I can take final responsibility for what appears in this report. Unfortunately, some things could not appear.

Melanie Lutt
Principal Investigator
1984.

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SECTION ONE

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

A. PURPOSE

On June 23, the then Minister of Justice for Canada, the Honorable Mark MacGuigan, established a Special Committee to study the problems associated with pornography and prostitution, and to carry out a programme of socio-legal research in support of its work. This study was undertaken to assist the committee in achieving its mandate.

PROJECT TAP: Towards an Awareness of Prostitution (in the Prairie Region) was one of five similar studies carried out across Canada within the same time period, from March, 1984 to June, 1984. The other four studies were undertaken in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces. All the studies were funded by the Federal Department of Justice, co-ordinated by the Research Division of Justice, and carried out by independent researchers.

The purpose of the research was to:

- a) collect and analyze
 - data describing the business of prostitution and other related activities;
 - data describing those who engage in or facilitate prostitution, namely: prostitutes, customers, pimps, and the "service network";
 - data describing social control attempts of the past recent years in the sites under study.
- b) have interviews with as many prostitutes, customers, and pimps as can be identified and are willing to collaborate, using pre-tested survey guides, reporting as much as possible on the socio-demographic characteristics of these individuals.
- c) collect and report on the social control practices of police departments, texts of by-laws or legislation, and police personnel perceptions of prostitution and enforcement practices.

B. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

The Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution began public hearings all across the country in January of 1984. At these public hearings, it received both written and oral submissions from a wide variety of interested citizens, both as individuals and as organized groups. It sat in two of the three cities studied in this report, and in both cases, the hearings had already taken place by the time the

research for this report was conducted. The potential respondents pertinent to this study had already been sensitized to the issues, some to the point of wanting to say more, and some to the point of fearing reprisal if any further information was shared.

In April of 1984, the new Young Offenders Act came into effect, modifying, in ways not fully tested or understood at the time of this study, the manner in which police and social service workers could respond to juveniles who were engaged in prostitution.

In May, 1984, The National Advisory Council on the Status of Women released a document on Prostitution in Canada, containing substantial material on legal history, legal updates, possible future legal alternatives, legal conditions in other countries, and an extensive bibliography (to which the reader should refer for other materials on prostitution).

Finally, within the time frame of the study itself, between May, 1984 and June, 1984, several municipalities across the country were experimenting with the development of municipal by-laws aimed at controlling prostitution. The three Prairie cities which form the major focus of this study: Calgary, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg, all had experimented with municipal by-laws relating either to prostitution in public areas, or escort agencies and body-rub parlours, or both. At the time of the study, all three were awaiting the outcome of a variety of legal contests focused either on their own by-laws, or on similar ones in other jurisdictions. In some cities, citizen's action groups and prostitutes' self-help organizations were clashing in the streets.

It was within this context of action and high socio-political visibility that this study of prostitution was carried out.

C. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND DISCLAIMERS

Readers interested in the specific details of the methodology followed in undertaking this study will find a fuller description near the end of the report, with the complete interview guides attached as part of the appendix. In this section, we will only highlight some of the more important cautions and concerns that must be taken into account when evaluating the validity, degree of generality, and utility of the data contained herein.

C1. The General Approach

The kind of information that flows from public hearings on a topic such as prostitution can be long on opinion and moralistic claims, and short on facts. This study was to supplement the few known facts, so there had to be an approach that would discourage our respondents from giving

us only opinion, and encourage them to provide us with descriptions of how prostitution ACTUALLY WORKS, i.e., the behaviors of people involved. Consequently, the questions were designed as though we were undertaking a study of PROSTITUTION AS AN OCCUPATION. We asked questions about hours of work, locations, degree of danger involved, required skills, services provided, advantages and disadvantages to workers and clients, the impact of other's behavior on the occupation, related health care and child care facilities, and so on. Answers to these questions provided the data which described the conditions of the occupation at the time of the study. We did ask some attitude-opinion questions, but only about the possible impact on the present conditions, if changes were to be made to the laws presently in effect, to produce one of three possible consequences: more restrictive laws, decriminalization, or legalization.

The data contained in this study describes either present conditions, or potential future conditions. The respondents themselves pass judgments, prioritize their opinions and make recommendations for change. But, it was not the purpose of this report to evaluate the respondents' ideas, or to prioritize their recommendations. It is as close to a non-evaluative description of a time-limited 'slice' of empirical reality as can be, given the nature of the topic.

C2. Language Differences

Within the extremely short time frame allowed for the study, it was not practical to employ interviewers who had no prior knowledge of acceptable interview techniques, general methodological issues, or research ethics. (We did not have the fortune of finding a prostitute trained in research.) Consequently, the persons asking the questions were, at least in the beginning, quite unfamiliar with the language used by those involved in the occupation of prostitution. In order to retain a balance among the requirements of verbal objectivity (no leading questions, for example), language that was meaningful at the literacy level of all the individual respondents (some had less than grade eight education) but not so simple that it was insulting, and language that reflected to some extent the culture of the street, it became necessary to instruct interviewers to modify formal questions and the probes used, for each respondent. Consequently, none of the interviews were done exactly the same way, using the same words.

As the study moved from one city to the next, starting in Saskatoon and moving to Winnipeg, and then to Calgary, it became apparent that the language used by the prostitutes themselves differed from one city to the other. In some cases, the language was indicative of a meaningful difference in the conditions; in other cases it was simple different terms for what appeared to be the same roles and behaviors. So part of the data of this study includes a description of the jargon attached to the occupation, supplemented by a Glossary which can be found in the

appendix. One of the clear findings of this study is that the use of single terms such as prostitute, pimp and customer is futile if one wants to accurately describe the multi-faceted occupational world of prostitution. This report attempts to reflect this variety, so frequently uses different words for the same phenomenon, attempting as much as possible to repeat, verbatim, the words of the respondents themselves.

C3. Implications of Problems of Access

Police were generally easy to access, prostitutes were not. Pimps and clients were almost impossible. Access to a field of study such as the occupational world of prostitution requires time and patience on the part of the researchers, and confidence and trust, on the part of the respondents. Although soliciting itself is not illegal, many of our targeted respondents were involved in other illegal activities, and they also knew we were simultaneously talking to police in their own city. Although the researchers were somewhat familiar with Saskatoon, the other two cities studied were virtually unknown to the research team. They were flown in, given approximately three weeks to make contacts and establish the trust of police, prostitutes, and community agents, do as many two-to-four hour interviews as possible with as many respondents as possible, and 'validate' their data through personal observation. Value judgments were constantly being made on an individual basis by each interviewer, about what 'leads' would be fruitful. Because of the nature of the context of the respondents, many of the pre-arranged meetings never occurred. Consequently, our 'sample' is small, and we had next-to-no success penetrating the worlds of the manager (pimp) and client.

It would only be speculation on our part to list the reasons why we had limited success in gaining access to native women on the street. Their physical segregation from non-native women (referred to elsewhere) meant that in each of Winnipeg and Calgary, there were two distinct areas in which prostitution occurs. Time precluded us from penetrating both effectively. The few native women we talked to who were not incarcerated were co-operative because they had quit the occupation, and were trying to help others, or they were persuaded by their community service worker, to talk. The non-native ancestry of all the researchers was a factor whose effect we were unable to judge.

Interviews took place wherever and whenever we could get them: in taxis, restaurants, hotel bars, hotel rooms, on street corners, in coffee shops, in community agency offices, over the phone, in police cars, in prison, in private homes, in police offices and so on.

The difficulties of access resulted in:

- uneven samples of different categories of respondents from each city
- uneven samples of respondents with similar experiences from each city
- many incomplete interviews, some for lack of knowledge or applicability, others for lack of co-operation, and others for lack of suitability of the questions within the interview context.

All this means is that, if we were to apply rigorous research standards to the data from each city, it would be characterized as non-generalizable, non-comparable to any other city, possibly not reliable, and possibly not valid. Fortunately, it is Canadian!

If the reader still has the faith to press on, he or she will find the data interesting.

C4. Biases of the Research Team

The persons involved in the study were all well-trained and competent sociological researchers. Initially, the work load was going to be divided up randomly, but evenly. As interviewing got underway, however, all members of the team discovered 'preferences' i.e. they found it more easy and more personally comfortable, given the constant stress produced by the conditions of study itself, to make contacts with, and conduct interviews with, some categories of respondents in contrast to others. This pattern was allowed to evolve naturally, since to do otherwise, would have ultimately undermined the emotional health of the research team, and prevented the study from being accomplished within the limited time allowed. Unfortunately, we have no way of determining how this pattern affected the type of data that was collected, other than to suspect that each researcher was, at a minimal level, more biased TOWARDS THE RESPONDENT than against the respondent.

All the researchers shared strong beliefs in the equality of rights, and the right to dignity of all human beings. Consequently, when conditions of human inequality and indignity and degradation had to be recorded, they were recorded in detail, and often with commentary. As much as possible, the detail has been entered into this report: the commentary has been saved for more political forums.

SECTION TWO

THE POLICE: THEIR PERCEPTIONS AND BEHAVIORS

A. INTRODUCTION

Without exception, the police as one target group for this study, were the most available, the most accessible, and the most co-operative. The police chiefs in all three cities gave the study their official blessings, allowing the officers to be interviewed on police time to prevent any problems created by union contracts.

Formal sanction, however, does not necessarily guarantee truth, completeness, nor individuality in responding. Nor, in all cases, did it imply complete freedom to choose the police respondents we might have preferred.

As other studies in Canada have shown, a large sum of police salary money is dedicated to police who work with prostitutes. For a variety of reasons, upper level management and individual police have vested interests in seeing changes made in laws related to prostitution. This study was accurately perceived as yet another channel to air police opinion.

At the same time, the 'police' view of the street was seen as one against which to compare the perspectives of other respondents, and useful in rounding out existing sparse knowledge about prostitution, whether the data was contradictory or similar.

This section on police contains facts and perceptions. The focus is on the formal and informal control activities of police in response to the occupation of street prostitution.

A.1 Demographic Characteristics of Police Respondents

Since this was a study of prostitution, and not of police, our aim was to talk to police who knew something about prostitution. Our sample was not representative of the average officer, but included hand-picked people (chosen in collaboration with senior management) who were known, by either their present or past position, or their general activities, to have both an interest in, and knowledge of, street prostitution. The focus was generally on police with several years of experience, particularly on the street. The following tables provide both a personal and professional profile of our forty-six police respondents.

TABLE 1: AGE RANGES OF POLICE

<u>Age Range</u>	<u># of Police</u>
25 - 30	7
31 - 35	9
36 - 40	15
41 - 45	8
46 - 50	3
51 - 55	1
56 - 60	0
60 +	1
No response	2
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 2: GENDER OF POLICE

<u>Gender</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Male	42
Female	4
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 3: MARITAL STATUS OF POLICE

<u>Status</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Married	37
Single	4
Divorced/Separated	1
No Response	4
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

<u># of Children</u>	<u># of Police</u>
0	16
1	4
2	17
3	4
4	5
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 5: LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF POLICE

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Less than grade 8	0
Grade 8 - grade 12	24
Some post-secondary	14
Completed post-secondary	4
No Response	4
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 6: ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF POLICE

<u>Ethnic Category</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Anglo-Saxon	22
Dutch	3
Scandanavian	2
German	3
Canadian	2
Ukranian	4
No Response	10
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 7: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF POLICE

<u>Religion</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Roman Catholic	11
Protestant	26
Other	1
None	1
No Response	1
Total	<u>46</u>

The personal data show our typical police respondent to be a caucasian, Anglo-Saxon, male, middle-class, over-30, high school educated, married police officer. Noticeable by their near absence are officers from minority ethnic backgrounds, those with either very minimal or very extensive formal educational experiences, and females.

The professional characteristics reflect good variety in length of service, and range and type of police experience, as shown in the following tables.

TABLE 8: LENGTH OF TIME ON POLICE FORCE (YEARS)

<u>Years on Police Force</u>	<u># of Police</u>
1 - 5	3
6 - 10	11
11 - 15	10
16 - 20	13
21 - 25	4
26 - 30	4
31 - 35	0
36 - 40	1
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 9: RESPONDENTS POLICE RANK

<u>Rank</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Constable	15
Sargeant	19
Detective	6
Staff Sargeant	3
Corporal	2
Not Recorded	2
Total	<u>46</u>

TABLE 10: DEPARTMENT/DIVISION/SQUAD

<u>Job Specialty</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Vice	12
Detective	2
Juvenile	7
Drugs	2
Patrol (uniformed)	9
Traffic (uniformed)	1
Homocide	2
Analytic	2
Child Abuse	2
Sex Crimes	1
Gay Liaison	1
Criminal Investigations	1
Not Recorded	4
Total	<u>46</u>

From these tables, it is apparent that all but three of our respondents had more than five years of police experience, and so were not 'guessing' at either police policies or practices. More than half were serving in some form of supervisory position at the time of the study. And the types of police experiences they had had were extensive.

Neither the personal nor professional characteristics of the police respondents could be correlated with any other response patterns, preventing us from at least speculatively attributing differential police perceptions and activities to specific characteristics of the officers as individuals. However, some minor differences among police from the different cities, did show up in the more formal data, and the impressions obtained by the researchers themselves, suggested that differences among police respondents in their relationship to prostitution, reflected more the city in which they worked, rather than their own traits.

B. POLICE USE OF THE LAW

At the time of this study, federal laws directly related to prostitution included sections 193 (Keeping Common Bawdy-House), 194 (Transporting Person to Bawdy House); 195 (Procuring) and 195.1 (Soliciting). Sections 193, 194 and 195 were difficult to enforce if a conviction was the goal, requiring surveillance, and extensive police time commitments. Section 195.1 (Soliciting) had been modified by the 1978 Hutt decision, requiring that the soliciting be persistent and pressing.

B.1 Police Attitudes

When police were asked what laws can be used to control prostitution, they listed several, but continually qualified their answer with comments about futility.

TABLE 11: LAWS NOW AVAILABLE TO CONTROL PROSTITUTES

<u>Laws Available</u>	<u># of Police</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Saskatoon</u>	<u>Calgary</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>	
Nothing	-	7	4	11
Soliciting	7	-	5	12
Procuring	4	-	1	5
Keeping a Common Bawdy House	-	-	-	
Traffic Acts	-	-	1	1
Gross Indecency	-	-	1	1
Trespassing	-	-	1	1
Causing a Disturbance	-	-	1	1
"Stunting"	-	2	-	2
Child Welfare Acts	-	-	1	1
Don't Know	-	-	-	
Laws exist, but they are unenforceable	7	4	13	24

If you total the number of police respondents who specified that no law is in effect to control prostitution (11) and the number of police who mentioned specific laws, but noted that they are unenforceable (24), you have over 75% of the respondents, who believed that the laws directly related to prostitution were useless in controlling the behavior of the street prostitute.

"The evidence needed for prostitution right now is staggering. You need a persistent female that directly says she wants to sell herself. You need to see the money transaction. You just about need to see the sexual act. What are you going to do -- pull out your badge half way through the act? You'd be popular with your wife!"

Similar attitudes were discovered when police were asked about what kinds of laws could be used to control the managers and the clients.

TABLE 12: LAWS NOW AVAILABLE TO CONTROL MANAGERS

<u>Type of Law</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Living off the avails	17
Procuring	8
Transporting	3
Nothing	3
Laws exist, but are expensive and time-consuming to use	32
Don't know	2

TABLE 13: LAWS NOW AVAILABLE TO CONTROL CLIENTS

<u>Type of Law</u>	<u># of Police</u>
Soliciting	6
Traffic Laws	4
Gross Indecency	2
Found-in	2
Nothing	2
Laws are in place, but difficult to enforce	37
Don't know	2

In relation to customers, police noted several times that the customers are seldom charged because they are a major source of evidence. Charges are dropped in exchange for testimonials which might help to convict either the 'seller' or the 'procurer' or both.

"Clients are used for statements. They're usually scared of publicity so they'll give a statement if they're gotten to right away. We don't usually charge clients."

"The clients aren't charged. Instead we use them to get statements and then subpoena them to court to do our bawdy house charges. We have to have the customers. They show up."

"We never charge customers because we use them."

Although the police forces from one city to the next may attempt to use different kinds of legislation to control the city streets, all the police shared the attitude that they were working with expensive, time-consuming, laws that rarely produce any gratification (i.e. convictions).

"As far as we are concerned, it is a waste of time to investigate moralistic types of crime. Unless there is a parasitic relationship involved, then there is really no point."

"Charging pimps is a time-consuming and expensive task. With one guy, it took me eight months of fairly constant surveillance to obtain one successful charge against a pimp. Another one, _____, was recently given two and one-half years for living off the avails. It took fourteen months of surveillance to get him. Add to that the time spent for the police keeping track of victims that are going to testify. We had one recent case where we were ready to take the case to trial, and the key witness ended up in a psychiatric ward."

"We can virtually close down the streets if we've got the time and we want to be dinks. But only for a short time. Next day, they're right back. What difference does it make what corner they work on? They'll always be there."

Although not statistically significant, it is interesting to note that a greater number of police have no faith in using the law against managers than against prostitutes themselves, and an even larger number felt they had unenforceable laws when trying to control the customer population.

One police force had, prior to the study, attempted to test the utility of the soliciting law to arrest customers (i.e. the customer had to act "pressing and persistent"). A female police decoy was used, and over

300 arrests were made, and many customers' names were published in the local newspapers. However, after excluding the number of cases where charges were not laid, or dropped, or dismissed in court, the end result was three convictions.

B.2 Police Statistics

Each of the three police forces were asked to provide the research team with their official statistics covering the period January, 1982 - May, 1984, a period of two and one-half years. Each was asked to provide data on the total number of charges laid within the time period, which they considered to be for 'prostitution-related offenses'. This allowed the police administrators to show the research team what types of charges they considered related to prostitution, and with what relative frequency they used different types of legislation.

(At the time of the study, each city had experimented with some form of municipal by-laws, and each had withdrawn from extensive use of such because either the by-law was being tested in the court at the time, or one similar to theirs had not been upheld by some other jurisdiction's court of appeal.)

SASKATOON STATISTICS

Prostitution Related Offences

(January, 1982 - May, 1984)

"The following statistics are as full and complete as reported to Statistics Canada."

	1982	1983	1984
Attempt to procure a person for prostitution	5 (5)	3 (2)	
Contributing to juvenile delinquency	18 (11)	9 (5)	
Indecent act	7 (5)	10 (5)	5 (1)
Indecent exposure	78 (22)	116 (19)	33 (4)
Other indecency	7 (2)	5 (1)	3 (0)
Public morals	2 (0)		1 (1)
Other sexual offences	12 (3)	18 (6)	4 (1)
Totals	129 (48)	160 (36)	46 (7)
City of Saskatoon Municipal Prostitution Bylaw:	None	13 (12)	1 (1)

**** () denotes number of charges issued.

Note that although we asked only for the number of actual charges laid, the Saskatoon police also provided the number of arrests made for the same offence. The 'funneling effect' is very apparent, and particularly spectacular in the case of the charge of indecent exposure. Few of these arrests resulted in formal charges being laid.

The use of the City by-law was 'on hold' in 1984, awaiting further tests in the courts.

Saskatoon, over the last two and one-half years, has tended to rely heavily on laws related to indecency, requiring basically 'reactive policing'.

CALGARY STATISTICS

Prostitution Related Offences

(January, 1982 - May, 1984)

Live off the avails of prostitution	21
Keep a common bawdy house	16
Attempt to procure a person for illicit sexual intercourse	2
Found in a common bawdy house	2
Contributing to juvenile delinquency	27
Gross indecency	61
City of Calgary Municipal ByLaw 27M81 Charges (Mar-Dec, 1982)	486

Reported incidences of gross indecency	80
Reported incidences of indecent acts	1,233

The Calgary City Police also made it clear that of the large number of incidences that come to their attention, a much smaller proportion result in formal charges being laid.

Calgary has combined the use of 'indecency' laws, with laws that require surveillance activities. In other words, more 'proactive policing'.

WINNIPEG STATISTICS

Prostitution Related Offences

(January, 1982 - May, 1984)

Live off the avails of prostitution	14
Keep a common bawdy house	23
Inmate of a common bawdy house	7
Found in a common bawdy house	3
Attempt to procure a female for illicit sexual intercourse	13
Exercise control over prostitution	13
Juvenile delinquency - sexual immorality	30
Contributing to juvenile delinquency	4
Gross indecency	4
Indecent cct	5
Material witness	3
Allowing/assisting/taking part in an obscene theatrical performance	6
Have sexual intercourse with a female between 14 and 16 years of age	1

Handbill and Poster By-Law #107675	2
Massage Parlor and Escort Service By-Law	6

The City of Winnipeg did not have a by-law against prostitution. The one in place, and being contested in court at the time of the study, referred specifically to the requirements for the granting of licenses to massage parlors and escort services.

The Winnipeg police force expressed more variety in their use of laws to control prostitution, using both proactive and reactive techniques.

Obvious by its common absence from the data provided by all three forces, is the offence of soliciting, the law specifically designed to respond to visible street prostitution.

The police respondents also pointed out that as well as many of the related laws being time consuming and expensive to enforce, the women were generally well-informed about the types of evidence the police required in order to make arrests, and modified their behaviors to prevent that evidence being available to police. One example is in the enforcement of Section 193 - Keep a Common Bawdy House. The police must document that the house (or room) is used at least two or three times by the same person for prostitution purposes. When the women would obtain a hotel room for their use for the evening, they would use it once, and then switch keys with another girl, so the same room would not be used by the same woman more than once or twice in any one evening.

Besides the laws specifically listed by police, other forms of legislation were mentioned in other police comments, including the following:

- Littering
- Trespassing
- Liquor act violations
- Narcotics Act violations
- Obstructing traffic
- Causing a public disturbance
- Parking violations

"Things that we arrest prostitutes for are causing a disturbance (if they are new in the area) and if there is a warrant out for them already."

"We're in seventh heaven when we've found a pimp smoking a joint. Finding a pimp is really a feat in itself. One guy I caught smoking and he said, "If you let me go, you'll never catch me again." I thought he was probably right, so I charged him."

From comments from police during interviews, it became apparent that liquor license supervisors work with police, using violations of the liquor control acts, to make some impact on the activities taking place in and around establishments where liquor is served. However, it is not possible to determine from a listing of liquor act offenses, what proportion were related to attempts to control street prostitution.

Most of these other forms of legislation had been used on a 'trial' basis, to determine their efficacy. In most cases, they were discontinued because of a lack of any long-term effect on the presence of women on the streets, relative to the costs involved.

"Just awhile ago, there was a crack-down on the girls on the street, and they were being charged with littering. The attempt was made to close the street down, but it had no long-term effect."

"We tried tagging cars for obstructing traffic if they stopped in this area. The girls got around this by lining up about every twenty feet, so if a car could be legitimately stopped in a line of traffic and the guy could just call the girl over. The crackdown sort of controlled the clients for awhile, but it was too time consuming for the police and so it was discontinued."

It is clear from the number and types of non-prostitution related laws that police employ to (and define as related to) control prostitution, from contrastingly high numbers of charges laid in Calgary while their new by-law was being tested on the street, and by the consensus of police attitudes stressing the futility of federal laws directly

related to prostitution, that formal laws are not effectively or efficiently used by police to respond (either reactively or proactively) to street prostitution, and secondly, that police will eventually ignore a law that is not cost-effective.

When police were asked what laws had existed in the past that they considered useful for controlling street prostitution, seven mentioned the Vagrancy laws, and three mentioned Soliciting, as it was before the Hutt decision.

C. POLICE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PROSTITUTION PROBLEM

C.1 Introduction

All police respondents were asked to try to describe the parameters of the prostitution problem in their respective cities, including such characteristics as numbers involved, location, hours of work, services provided, prices charged, types of people involved (prostitutes, customers, pimps) methods of work, relation to other criminal activities, and so on. Most of the respondents could not provide what they themselves felt were accurate answers, and most responded that they did not know, to a large number of the questions. Several respondents were willing to speculate in one or two areas, but qualified their answers in that way. The only respondents who felt secure in their over-all knowledge about street prostitution were police who had or were working directly on vice teams, and directly assigned to prostitution, or uniformed officers whose style required that they know the street, or the individual officer in drugs or homicide that used prostitutes as informants, and so was familiar with their street lives. In total, out of forty-six officers interviewed, much of the in-depth knowledge of street prostitution comes from the experiences of fifteen officers, all male. All other respondents provided specialized, but segmental knowledge related to their own particular focus on the job (ex. fraud, traffic, juvenile, statistics, gay liaison and so on), and some added the kinds of general information which is shared about street activity among most officers who are working outside the office setting.

Much of the specific descriptive information provided by police was duplicated, and with more precision, in interviews with the women themselves. This appears in the section of this report entitled THE LIFE. The focus in this section is on the kinds of parameters which have more importance to the occupation of police officer. Police data from all three cities were combined, unless differences made themselves very apparent. In general, police responses throughout the prairie region were quite similar.

C.2 Types, Locations, Numbers and Participants

Police in all three cities had knowledge of the operation of the following forms of prostitution:

- street prostitution
- hotel/bar prostitution
- escort services
- exclusive call girls
- strippers/dancing girls
- juvenile prostitution.

Police in Winnipeg noted the presence of a visible body rub business, while the police in both Calgary and Saskatoon denied the presence of those services in their respective cities at the time of the study. Homosexual male prostitutes were very visible in both Winnipeg and Calgary, having designated areas well known to police. Saskatoon police identified the presence of homosexual areas in the city, but no real visible presence of homosexual prostitutes. Juvenile females were apparent in all three cities, but juvenile males were only visible on the streets in any number in the city of Calgary. Both the Calgary and Winnipeg City Police identified the presence of transvestites in street prostitution, but the study only could verify one in Winnipeg, and two in Calgary. None were identified as being involved in street prostitution in Saskatoon. One police force shared their speculations with us about the presence of juvenile male prostitutes working out of private clubs, but none of this was able to be verified. According to police in the prairie region, street prostitution is still predominantly a female seller-male buyer business.

All the locations of street prostitution in each city were well-known and freely identified by each police force*. In fact, when asked what participants determine where prostitution is most likely to occur, police in two cities listed themselves as one of the main determining factors.

TABLE 14: PARTICIPANTS WHO INFLUENCE THE LOCATION OF PROSTITUTION

<u>Participants</u>	<u># of Police Respondents</u>			
	<u>Saskatoon</u>	<u>Calgary</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>	<u>Total</u>
Police	3	5	0	8
Pimps	1	0	2	3
Clients	2	1	5	8
Physical Environment	2	0	9	11
Prostitutes	2	0	1	3
Don't Know	4	5	4	13
Total	<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>46</u>

* The exact locations will not be referred to by name in this report.

With the exception of the location of homosexual prostitution in one city, all the areas were characterized basically by non-residential buildings. The areas were a mix of hotels (both run-down and expensive), bars, nightclubs, restaurants, cabarets, as well as a variety of other businesses which usually closed down after six (furniture stores, real-estate agencies, small specialty stores and so on).

The police seemed fully aware of the establishments used by the women to take customers, as well as the police being familiar with all the desk clerks involved.

Each city had zones of prostitution differentiated by two major factors: the prices charged, and the apparent ethnicity of the women working in them, although this was not as predominant in Saskatoon.

Police in each city were asked to provide approximations about the numbers and characteristics of street prostitution of which they were aware. Almost all protested.

"It's just about impossible to estimate because they are so transient. Some you see for a month, a week, a year. Maybe then you don't see them for five or six months, even a year. Some have gone straight and married and gone back down on the street. More and more people are using the recession as an excuse to start working on the streets."

But they provided the following breakdowns for each city.

TABLE 15: POLICE APPROXIMATIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS
OF STREET PROSTITUTION

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Saskatoon</u>	<u>Calgary</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
Sellers			
Number: Female	10 - 50	100 - 156	100 - 400
Male	0 - 5	0 - 50	20 - 50
% Female	90 - 100%	80 - 90%	90 - 100%
% Male	1 - 5%	5 - 20%	5 - 10%
% Native	25 - 50%	1 - 10%	40 - 50%
% White	50 - 75%	60 - 70%	50 - 60%
% Black	25 - 40%	30 - 40%	5 - 10%
% Juvenile	5 - 10%	4 - 10%	5 - 10%
Average Age Range (yrs)	16 - 22	18 - 24	18 - 25

Police in all three cities noted the absence of women of oriental background on the street, but suspected that they did exist behind closed doors.

"In Chinatown, we know that some of the men are bringing women in from Hong-Kong. These girls have three-month visiting visas and are kept in a hotel for that period to perform sexual services mainly to the Chinese community. These girls don't speak English at all. After their visa is up, they're shipped back and a new shipment is brought in. The women are usually brought in three at a time. There could be nine or ten in the city at any point in time."

(According to police, Oriental female prostitutes were in high demand, and would be able to ask almost any price successfully on the street.)

Police perception of the general characteristics of the buyers of street sex, was almost standardized across the three city police departments. The average customer, according to police knowledge, had the following characteristics:

TABLE 16: POLICE PERCEPTION OF CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE AVERAGE CUSTOMER

Gender	Male
Average Age Range	20 - 60 (up to 80)
Marital Status	Married
Ethnicity	White (90%) Black (0%) Native (5%) Other (5%)
Social Class	Upper working class and above or (all occupations, and the unemployed)

According to police in all three cities, prostitution on the street is controlled by males, although the occasional woman who is the 'number-one lady' of a manager, will do some money collection, and some enforcement. There is a lot of ambiguity about the actual number of males to whom the women pay part of their earnings, since to the police at least, the 'pimps' remain as invisible as possible.

"Pimps are very seldom visible on the street. They will only come down when one of the girls calls them down. They think the police will not bother them as much if they don't appear to have a pimp."

"Our relationship with pimps is not congenial. Pimps become indignant if we even pull them over on

the street. If we called one a pimp, we'd be in shit up to our ears. These days, we've gone from the standard pimp to some kid with his sister and two of her friends. One guy here is 18 years old and his two girls are 17. Because of the high percentage of black prostitutes with black pimps, it seems that black pimps outnumber whites. It's not really that different, but you see more blacks. I mean more white girls are independent and most black girls have (black) pimps."

"Pimps are usually out at the bar drinking, at parties, or at the race track. They drop their women off and pick them up later."

Every officer who worked directly with prostitutes on the street, noted that none will ever respond to direct questioning by telling the police the name of her pimp. It has only been in the few cases in which the woman has agreed to testify against her 'pimp' that his identity is made clear. The police felt that many of the women also did not like to admit that they worked for anyone, and so would give the impression that they were independent.

"Twenty to thirty percent of the women on the street are independent, but THEY ALL LIKE TO THINK THEY ARE Nowadays, most turn themselves out to start, but there are still a lot turned out by a pimp, usually someone they have feelings for and are supporting. Even ones working for a pimp and we know it, they never say they're working for a pimp. They might talk about their 'boyfriend' every now and then."

The few police respondents we had who had worked in the same force for over twenty years, made it clear that the traditional, television concept of the pimp was no longer enough to describe the many kinds of relationships that exist on the street today between the female seller and the male (or even female) with whom she may share her income. These relationships are explored further in this report in the section on THE LIFE.

In all three cities, police mentioned that members of specific motorcycle clubs play a role in street prostitution. There was disagreement about what kind of role.

"Biggest number on the street are 'biker's girls'. Could be that half of them are affiliated. There's a club called _____. The bikers are running that club, but not on paper ... They have to be running girls out of there 'cause there is too much

money not to be. Our hands are tied. We walk through there in uniform but we can't do much."

But from a police officer in the same city:

"Motorcycle gangs have limited involvement in prostitution except that they may be running a few of their own girlfriends just for kicks. Media overplay has led to the belief that gangs are involved."

In one city, police reported that one attempt had been made by one motorcycle club in that city to 'take over the street' (force all the women to accept their protection, and in turn to pay them protection money). The attempt was unsuccessful. Police in all three cities do assume, however, that some members of motorcycle clubs are actively involved in buying and selling illegal drugs, and that is their main connection to the street. Police in all three cities mentioned that the relationships between members of select motorcycle clubs and other males who manage women on the street are tenuous and shifting, changing from a tense working relationship to visible violence.

C.3 Relations to Other Types of Criminal Activities

Police were asked a number of questions to determine their opinions about the relationships, if any, between the occupation of street prostitution and the use and production of pornographic materials, illegal use and trafficking in drugs of various kinds; theft, frauds, fencing of stolen property, and organized crime. In each case, police answered according to their definitions of the offenses (for example, they were not provided with a standardized definition of pornographic materials).

The few police who felt they had enough knowledge to answer, expressed a general consensus that the occupation was 'surrounded' by a variety of illegal activities, but that the female sellers were the least centrally involved.

According to police, few street prostitutes are 'professionally' involved in the production or distribution of pornographic materials. Police assume that some are asked by clients to pose for 'home' stills, or amateur video movies. A small handful may be 'stars' in such productions without their knowledge. But most of the encounters with street prostitutes take place where such productions are impossible to make, and the time period is too short. Police suspect that strip establishments may be the source of amateur video cassettes, and there may be movies made at stags where women from the street occasionally may be found. Pornographic productions are felt by police to more likely involve women from escort services or exotic dancers. At the

time of the study, few pimps were known to be involved in the distribution of pornographic materials, but two police commented that the market is so lucrative that it is a good possibility that involvement will increase. One pimp was known to take pictures of himself and his own women, but police did not know what was done with the pictures.

"Pimps will sometimes take pictures of themselves and their hookers. One pimp used to dip his penis in cocaine, then get off with two or three of his girls and take pictures. But that's not so common."

As far as police were concerned, the average client was not involved in the production and distribution of pornography, although the informed police agreed that some proportion of clients will have pornographic pictures (usually commercial magazines) with them in their car, for one of three purposes: to arouse themselves, to arouse the women, or to show the woman what service is being sought. If a client happened also to be a commercial dealer in pornographic materials, the relationship was totally coincidental, and was not different from him being a football player, truck driver, or school teacher.

"One guy is a client and also sell and circulates porno video cassettes. I've seized lots of photos in different cases, but it's unknown to me who the camera operator was, or whether they are local or imported, or have been bought or what. There was one homosexual case where there were pictures of the male juvenile ... having sex with other juvenile males and himself."

On the other hand, the women sellers were seen to be actively involved in two illegal areas: robbing clients, and illegal use and distribution of drugs. Police received complaints from customers regularly about having had some combination of cash, credit cards, or whole wallets stolen during an encounter with a prostitute. Police estimated that about sixty to seventy-five percent of these occurrences did not come to their attention at all, and of the twenty-five to forty percent that were reported, the purpose was to simply let the police know that it was going on. On the average, there may be one or two cases per year in each city where a customer actually carried through formally with a complaint of this nature. In the majority of cases, the sexual service had been provided, and the robbery took place following the activity, either because the customer was very drunk and passed out or fell asleep, or because the customer was in another room (usually the bathroom).

"Violence is related more to robberies and thefts rather than out-and-out physical violence. We do not get many complaints of assaults - more about

thefts (from customers). But I think not even one third of the occurrences are reported due to the embarrassment of the clients."

The cash gained in these thefts may remain with the prostitute, or be shared with the pimp, depending upon his involvement in or knowledge of the theft. Credit cards are given to the pimp who either sells them to someone who takes them to a different city where they are again purchased and used, or uses them immediately before the client can report the loss. Purposeful 'rolling' of clients where a customer is set up to be robbed, is rare, and draws quick reaction from the women on the street, as business is harmed if it becomes known that the street is not 'safe' for clients.

According to police, most of the women use either alcohol, or illegal drugs, or both, and are involved in the distribution of drugs by being used as 'packers' (carriers from one location to another). The women DO NOT, however, sell drugs to their customers, as a customer may be an undercover police officer. Pimps are seen by police to be centrally involved in the drug trade, using and dealing, although the police assume that the 'smart' pimps do not become drug dependent.

"The women seem to be terrified of the harder drugs. They do use cocaine, but its mostly the pimps here. It's considered a status symbol."

"The women use soft drugs, hash and marijuana, they don't use coke much because it's too expensive. A number of the women are involved in "packing" gram lots. The pimps don't do this. They get their girls to bring the drugs to a place and drop it off. Traffickers don't carry the drugs themselves. They use "stash notes" -- you pay the money and get a note saying where it is and go there. Some clients that come down buy gram notes, but they don't deal. The pimps that are space heads don't last long and get caught."

"The big thing for status is to roll cocaine up in a \$100 bill and sniff it."

Police did note that over the last five years, there has been an increase in the use of prescription drugs by the women themselves, which they usually obtain from their pimps, or from other drug dealers on the street. A few women may be involved in theft of these drugs from drug stores, but their main involvement is as users. The pimps involved obtain the drugs in several ways, identified by police. They include:

1. theft of the drugs from a local drug store,
2. theft of medical prescription pads and forging of prescriptions which are subsequently filled at a drug store,
3. buying drugs from the elderly who are in need of money and are able to obtain drugs easily in large amounts from their own doctors,
4. travelling to the U.S. and importing drugs from there which are not controlled by prescription,
5. obtaining drugs from a doctor in exchange for arranging sexual services to his liking in barter, and
6. 'double doctoring' i.e. going to several different doctors and obtaining a prescription from each for the same drug.

Police knowledge of possession and fencing of stolen property (other than that stolen from customers) by prostitutes, pimps, and customers, was minimal. Prostitutes shoplifting clothing, condoms, and jewellery for themselves and their pimps, was the main form assumed to police to involve the women. Although the police claimed that pimps were involved in anything and everything from which they could make money, they did not see the fencing of stolen goods as an organized activity among pimps. Individual pimps with 'talent' were thought to be involved in some robberies, and in the buying and selling of blank cheques and credit cards. Occasionally, a pimp will make a gift to his main lady, which is a stolen item.

"Usually prostitutes are only involved at the receiving end of stolen property. But pimps are involved in anything and everything!"

Police in all three cities showed little concern over any relationship between street prostitution and organized crime. The consensus was that the only effect of any form of 'organization' (besides on prices and territory within one city) was to produce a circulation of women among the cities in the Prairie region (and out to Vancouver) when the women were becoming too 'friendly' with the local police, or when competition was lower in one city than in another. Women were also known to decide to move to another city independently of a pimp. And police referred to the influx of pimps and women from the U.S. during the summer months, and for special events, as 'organized'.

"Just the travelling. Girls travel from one major center to the next. The standard route is Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary. Sometimes they'll go east. Some go to Vancouver for a holiday, and end up working there for a while."

"Organized crime is mostly in terms of the movement of the women, especially the ones that come in from the States. Movement in Canada is mostly between Calgary, Edmonton, and Saskatoon. The decisions to move are made mainly by the men i.e. on the basis of a 'dry spell' or if they think the girls are getting too friendly with the police."

"Prostitution is organized only in relation to the movement of women between cities. They rotate girls between Winnipeg and Regina. In general the women are transient, though, and not all movement is organized. Many appear to come in and leave on their own, but who knows ... it could be controlled by pimps that we don't know of. For the most part, the pimps keep a low profile."

When police were probed about the lack of involvement of large syndicated organizations, they attributed it to two reasons:

1. A lot more money in drugs
2. Lack of control over the women (they would turn on the pimp, they were emotional, they were a lot of trouble, etc...)

Police in two cities linked some of the apparently organized movement of women throughout the prairie region cities to involvement by members of some motorcycle clubs, but the nature of the involvement was not clear to police i.e. whether the bikers organized and controlled it, whether they simply move their own women with them, or whether they are contracted to physically move women around from city to city.

(Information from police respondents, and from descriptions of police information about escort agency business, suggested that there is a much greater degree of structured organization with links to both east and west coasts, in the running of escort agencies.)

Police respondents are fully aware of the richness of the street culture, and several police made it clear that in their minds at least, all the other aspects of illegal activities within that culture, would occur whether prostitution were present or not. Only one policeman assumed that if street prostitution were stopped, that all the other illegal activities would be substantially decreased. Police did not perceive any important overlap between the customers of street prostitutes, and those who were the consumers of illegal drugs and other illegally obtained items which are marketed on the street.

C.4 Prostitution and Violence

Police were asked what their perception was of the relationship between street prostitution and violence. Individual respondents provided examples of almost every type of violent relationship on the street: prostitutes abusing clients, prostitutes abusing each other, and pimps abusing each other. (None mentioned anyone abusing police, or police abusing anyone, although other respondents in the study included incidents of these two types.) Only one known case in all three cities was described in which an innocent citizen (mistaken for a prostitute) was raped.

The street culture was assumed by police to be one in which final resolutions habitually involved physical violence. But the main targets of violence, according to police information, are the female sellers. The primary source of violence against the women is customers; the secondary source is pimps.

The police described these different forms of violence in their own words.

"One and a half years ago, there was a real swarm of black girls. There were a lot of territorial problems. We sent three guys back to Detroit. They were here with knives, guns, baseball bats, and ready to do battle with three other pimps right on the street corner."

"Pimps abuse prostitutes, but not on the street at all. It's not ever that often that you see girls on the street with visible markings. Pimps don't abuse clients 'cause they can't find them."

"There is everything. Stealing, robberies, assaults, fights over territory, pimps fight over the girls. If you stay there long enough you'll be involved in violence in some way."

Police are aware that many of the women carry weapons for self-protection, and although they make it a practice of taking the weapons away from the women if they are displaying them openly, or if a customer complains, they do not charge the women for carrying them, and often they return them informally, and at a later date. The most popular weapon carried is a knife, although police in one city were sure that two women were carrying guns. Police in one of the three cities felt they had been quite successful in dissuading the women from carrying weapons by making themselves very available for protection purposes, responding effectively and efficiently to the women's complaints about dangerous customers. One police officer explained their equality principle, however, with mixed motives (i.e. they were

protecting prostitutes to provide a safer street for women who might be innocent, but mistaken for a prostitute).

"If there are any criminal acts against them they have the right to complain ... just because she's a prostitute, doesn't mean people can go kick her ass around. I don't agree with what they do, but it doesn't give me the right to tell them they don't deserve help. I mean, a guy goes around beating up girls he thinks are prostitutes, some time he might beat up someone who isn't. I've heard guys (other police) who don't want to help because they feel they're scum and they deserve what they get."

Police were asked what proportion and what type of violent acts were reported to them, and whether or not the victim followed through on the charge. Without exception, police opinion was the following. Customers report, pimps do not. Prostitutes reported only the most violent attacks on themselves. If the customer were the perpetrator, the act would have to be attempted murder, rape, or an assault causing serious bodily injury. A major part of the purpose in reporting such a customer would be to protect the other women.

"In the past four years, approximately twenty complaints have been laid by prostitutes as victims of some form of sexual abuse (a detective from sex crimes division). About ten percent of these have followed through with the charges (about six were rapes).

- One woman was mistaken for a hooker and raped by two black men. They were convicted.
- One woman was picked up by a customer and taken out of the city in a truck. He told her it was a one-way ride. After they stopped, she grabbed the keys and ran. The police picked him up and he was convicted.
- One man raped a prostitute and was sentenced to eight years.
- Two Lebanese men attempted to kill a prostitute by the name of _____. Very recently both were sentenced to ten years.
- Also recently, a prostitute was sexually assaulted by seven Vietnamese men. One man picked her up and took her to his apartment where six others were waiting for her."
- No juvenile prostitute has filed any complaint to the sex crimes division. Overall the conviction rate has been very high, and the more people that are convicted of assaulting a prostitute, the more women will come forward.

If the pimp were the perpetrator, no report would be made unless the woman was prepared to testify, (and usually leave the city and/or the business), even if the attack were very violent. Police felt they were informed only of the most serious incidences, and that much was hidden from their formal knowledge (i.e. that which might result in charges being laid), although they were aware of extensive violence to which they could not legally respond. The overall police attitude towards pimps was to put it mildly, negative, and since the women would not inform on, or testify against a pimp, some police felt constrained to act outside the law, if necessary, in cases of extreme violence or death.

"We investigated the murder of a prostitute, a native girl ... We were quite confident that her pimp had done it, but the body was badly decomposed and there was really no evidence. The guy came in with his lawyer so the police couldn't get a statement. Once they come in with a lawyer there's nothing we can do. As a rule, we will do "everything" we can to get a statement before the guy has a chance to talk to anyone else -- if we don't then there is usually no case. The public and the 'bleeding hearts' out there would be screaming blue murder if they knew what had to be done, but if they want to get these guys convicted you can't be worrying about their human rights. What about the human rights of the victims? We're prepared to do whatever we have to do to solve a case of violence."

C.5 Citizen Complaints

According to police in all three cities, citizen complaints vary in frequency and intensity, according to the source.

Police listed, in decreasing order of frequency, the following sources of complaints.

TABLE 17: SOURCE OF COMPLAINTS TO POLICE

<u>Source</u>	<u># of Police Who Mentioned The Source</u>
Retail Businesses	23
Owners/Managers of(large) Hotels	14
Prostitutes who get 'ripped off'	6
Church Groups	2
Citizens with traffic complaints	2
Women mistaken for prostitutes	2
Customers who have been 'ripped off'	2
Customers who have been assaulted	2
Residents in 'gay' areas	1
Politicians	1

All three forces recorded the presence of individual citizens who used both the media and direct calls to the mayors and the police chiefs to record their dissatisfaction with police inability to get prostitutes off the streets. The street officers are only faintly aware of these people, whose complaints are thought to have no impact at all. Interested citizens who complain as a group, however, usually elicit a formal response from the police chief, or the head of the Vice Division, and depending upon who the group represents, the street police may be directed to undertake a 'sweep' of the streets, which will last less than one week, and have no enduring impact. Complaints come regularly from (some, not all) owners of businesses in the prostitution areas, including from managers of expensive hotels. The regular police responses to these complaints is primarily to explain that there is nothing that can be done.

"Some businessmen complain all the time when the women hang around their business. They say it makes them look degrading and unruly. We tell them we'll look into it, but there isn't a whole lot we can do. Tell them to write to the Mayor. Every now and then, it filters down from the Chief to patrol. The men laugh during parade and basically ignore it."

Other informal individualized business responses are described in the next section.

Complaints about police abuse of power in relation to the women on the street, which come primarily from organized women's groups, usually produce, at the most, a formal public denial, or it is simply ignored unless a charge is being laid against a specific officer or officers.

Unless a complaint comes through city council, and affects the Chief of Police, as far as the police in general are concerned, it will have no impact on their routine behaviors.

D. POLICE USE OF "INFORMAL" CONTROL MECHANISMS

As noted earlier, the general consensus held by police is that formal legal responses to street prostitution, while used, are inefficient and ineffective. At the time of the study, police in all three cities described themselves as most centrally involved in maintaining order on the streets, in relation to street prostitution, rather than in enforcing the laws. As one uniformed officer commented.

"The 'brass' deal with the laws. As street cops, we deal with people as people in our area. We deal with our safety, their safety, and other people's safety."

The major expressed concerns of police were:

1. to "keep the numbers of women standing on the street as low as possible,
2. to ensure that the women on the street are as inconspicuous as possible,
3. to maintain the flow of traffic,
4. to keep visible violence as low as possible.

Police want to prevent the buildup of the kind of street interaction that harasses both local residents of the area, and people passing through.

"They were really aggressive. They confronted people on the street, driving by. For a while there, if a car stopped at a stop sign, these women would open the door and jump in and say, "Slip me \$20.00 or I'll scream rape."

"For a while it was a freak show here. A lot of intoxicated people would drive by and yell and throw things at the women and the women would throw rocks back. We tried to keep prostitutes off the street and the noise level down. A few times in the summer, we were fed up because we couldn't get anywhere. We finally would block the road off and clear the area for half an hour. Ten minutes later it would be blocked up again. The hookers would leave the streets and have a drink until we were gone."

The primary way the police have found to accomplish their goals is to maintain a relatively visible and constant physical 'presence' on the street.

"Uniformed officers have the downtown well patrolled. We do four zones back to back and filter into each other's zones (10 city blocks). One night, one block had ten police officers working, and over all there may be up to 25 officers in that area at the time. We're highly visible. That's our job. The main objective is to clean it up, to keep it from being where the girls are running out to the street to flag cars down. They're no longer doing that. It's a quiet business now. They stand in their spot and let people approach them."

The interaction between the police who are physically present in the area (both uniformed and plainclothes) and the sellers and buyers, encompasses at least four distinct forms that police commented upon:

- Identification
- Negotiation
- Arbitration
- Harassment

D.1 Identification

According to police they attempt to know the real identities of all the women who are selling sexual services on the street. Since the women are not breaking any law, police cannot force them to reveal their identities. The women must agree to co-operate. The regular women, i.e. those who reside in and work regularly in the particular city, generally agree to co-operate for two reasons. If something happens to them, the police will be able to identify them. Secondly, if they are only involved in prostitution, and become known as regulars by the police, they will generally be able to develop some 'symbiotic' relationship with the police allowing them both to continue their business.

The majority of police respondents were aware that their force maintained a mixture of formal (legally permissible) and informal (legally questionable) records on the women on the street.

TABLE 18: TYPE OF RECORDS KEPT BY POLICE

<u>Type of Record</u>	<u># of Police Respondents Aware of Records</u>
1. Formal (Departmental Access)	19
2. Informal (Restricted Access)	15
3. Informal (Individual Officer Records - Private)	10
4. Don't know	12
TOTAL	<u>56</u> (multiple answers)

The formal records existed if the woman had a criminal or other record of convictions, or a warrant for her arrest. The informal record, however, was kept up-to-date, as far as possible, on all the women, whether or not they had ever broken any law.

Police in all three cities maintain very extensive dossier on each woman, including a picture, name, address, date of birth, usual associates, criminal record, next-of-kin, pimp if known, number of children, etc. The book in which these records are kept is not considered part of the official police files, and is usually accessible only to a select number of police officers. Depending on the city, it may also contain similar information on drug dealers/users, pimps, parolees, fences, and an odd assortment of street people who are of

interest to the police. It is generally possessed and controlled by the Vice Division.

"We talk to them, try to find out who they are and where they are from. Tell them who we are and explain what we can do for them if they decide to get off the street. Then take their photo and fill out an identification sheet. Tell them that the I.D. process will help us to notify next of kin if anything happens to them. They are generally pretty cooperative.

We find out who she is, whether she has a record. Then fill out an information sheet for VICE. We circulate the news to other guys. If VICE asks, we get a picture. Usually walk up to the girl with a polaroid and say "Smile". If they won't let us take their picture, we play word games with them. --- Tell them we think they must have done something wrong or look much like a person who committed an offense and we need to take the picture to pass around and see if it really is the person. We run them on CPIC also to see if they're violent."

If, in the process of identification, the police discover that there is a warrant for the woman's arrest, they will act. For this reason, the regular women have been known to report the presence of a new woman to the police, hoping that they may take her off the street (and out of competition), since a new face on the street does well, according to the police.

The process of identification is no legal threat to the adult prostitutes (unless there is a warrant for their arrest), but it was a threat to juvenile runaways, as the police could then detain them under the former Juvenile Delinquents Act, and return them to their home or original place of custody. Women who appeared very young, but were of adult age, established an identity with the police to prevent themselves from being taken in as a juvenile.

Even if a woman was not initially 'co-operative' in providing her true identification, the police eventually obtain it.

We stop and do a check. Then we put them to the attention of vice. They take her picture if they haven't already. Vice is usually right on top of that. The women know that if they want to work out there, they'll let us take their picture. They'll be convinced, "advised", that they should follow the procedure. We tell them it's in case we have any complaints about them or in case we find them

'upside down' (dead). Most go along with it. Sometimes if they don't we park our car in front of her for a week until she does."

None of our police respondents admitted to incorrectly identifying a woman as a prostitute.

D.2 Negotiation

Although in the short-term confrontations, police find power in their right-to-violence, in the long-term control of the streets, power comes from information. Because of the difficulty of obtaining legally acceptable evidence, police seek out any and every source of information (and possible testimony) that is available. Prostitutes are only one source, and a very limited source. Police were asked if the women provide the police with information. The answers were always yes, but with serious qualifications. According to police, information is 'shared' with them ONLY when there is something to gain in return, or if for some reason, it is felt to be owed. (An example of the latter is in one case of a police officer having saved the life of a prostitute.) Correct information is a negotiable item on the street, and according to police will be provided only if the woman

- 1) is in serious legal trouble
- 2) feels her life (or another woman's life) is threatened
- 3) wants revenge against someone else
- 4) can benefit her business position without threatening herself.

Among our respondents who were most familiar with the street, each had his own perception of how close the relationship was between himself and the women on the street. Some described the relationship as 'friendship', others simply as a working relationship, "congenial", but on opposite sides of the track.

According to our most experienced police respondents, a 'good' police officer does not rely on prostitutes for his knowledge of the street. If information is provided too freely, it is suspected of being purposefully inaccurate or incomplete.

"Prostitutes and uniform guys generally have good relationships. We don't tell each other anything, but they don't do anything to spite us."

Since the women have to survive on the street, most police do not expect them to provide information which would be used against their own pimps, nor generally against any of the other women, although they always try to get it. Police do, however, expect (and according to them receive) information on strangers, on unexplained and unexpected violence, and from women who are in the process of leaving the business

because of one of the first three reasons listed previously. In return, the police (as individuals) may provide 'protective surveillance', early warning about an upcoming 'street sweep' and/or an unwritten agreement not to hang around where the women are working.

Two officers had evolved a unique form of bargain. If the women donated at least \$20.00 to the Salvation Army at Christmas, they'd leave them alone for a specified period of time.

"They collected money for the Salvation Army around Christmas time. Police do this with all the street people. You have to show them your receipt for the donation, and they leave you alone for a week."

D.3 Arbitration

Since a major goal of the police is street order, some police mentioned playing the role of the 'objective' third party, the person who arrives on the scene to break up or arbitrate other people's conflicts. This was a less-frequently used form of informal control than the first two procedures mentioned, but occurred enough for police respondents to mention it as a valuable role for them to play. The arbitration is most likely to be between a prostitute and a client or between a prostitute and a local business person. For example, a police officer may occasionally 'retrieve' an item stolen from a client without any formal action being taken. Or if a woman is being harassed by a persistent client (usually drunk) whom she has chosen to ignore, a police officer may persuade the customer to move on. In the case of local businessmen, they frequently phone police to report women around their premises. Although there is nothing formal the police can do, they may assist the manager to develop a more suitable relationship with the women.

"Some hotel managers complain when the girls are hanging out in the lounges. If a complaint is made, we will approach the girls with the manager and he will ask them to leave the premises. The girls are usually pretty co-operative, because they don't want trouble. In these situations the police are just arbitrators--sort of the objective third party."

For both negotiation and arbitration to occur at all, the police must engage in identification i.e. they must know as much as possible about the women themselves.

D.4 Harassment

- 1) Police engage in harassment when the street, in their judgment, gets 'out of order';

- 2) when they need to persuade a particular prostitute to co-operate with them; or
- 3) when they have received instructions from police administration to 'crack down.'

Harassment is the only straightforward direct form of control/power that police have over street prostitution. Harassment of the women themselves would include:

- parking a police car right on their corner
- stopping and talking to them on the sidewalk
- making comments to them from the car, just as a customer arrives
- taking them into the station to search them
- giving them tickets for offences such as littering
- coming up to a car in which a prostitute is parked with a customer, and talking to them
- -or any other activity that interferes with the women's business.

Clients are also harassed, mainly to dissuade them from coming back to the prostitution zone. This might be as minor as just having a lot of uniformed police in the area, to 'suggesting' strongly that if they return, something dangerous might happen to them.

The police describe forms of harassment as a control mechanism, in their own words.

"In the past, we used Soliciting charges. Now we clean up the streets with harassment. Every time they get in a car, we check her and the driver."

"Real low-life prostitutes are usually extremely intoxicated, so we run them in for that if we're not too busy."

"I really don't feel there are any laws that as a street officer, I can enforce. There are ways of dealing with them on the street, though. We hassle them, keep them on the run. This falters their business, keeps it in lower profile. We check them at places where they hang out. We converse with them on the street so they can't carry on their business. At the places where they hang out, we keep the management aware that we don't like it. We check them and the person they're with when we see them with people whom we don't know as their regular associates. We keep them looking out for us."

"We sometimes give them fines if they're caught in a bar (underage). This gets them into trouble because the pimp has to pay using his money, so he gets mad. It makes them stay away from the bars."

"We harassed one because she supposedly had herpes. When she was talking to someone, we'd walk by her and ask if she cleared up her herpes yet. Her boyfriend's not around anymore. She got pregnant and left. She started at twelve and at seventeen, was done."

"We can screw up their whole day, just by standing there. It puts the pinch on and takes money away from them. Clients leave. I think they think (the clients) we can do a lot more about it. They leave because they're embarrassed. Who'd want to say they took a hooker and had to pay for it. The girls show their displeasure. They come up and tell us or wave us away. Our 'standing around' is our way of saying we want to find something out, or we are getting pressure from the brass (police administration), or the community--all that bureaucratic bullshit. That's why the beatmen are on the street. It's good for public relations to have beatmen walking around because it makes them (the women) go indoors and keeps them out of the public eye."

"We spot-check clients. We ask for two things, a driver's license and hospitalization card. That way we can tell if he has a wife and kids. If he does, we tell him if we see him down there one more time, his wife will be getting an anonymous phone call telling her where her husband is. We do this if we see the guy enough. These guys backtrack like you wouldn't believe, even don't take the girl back to where they pick her up, to miss us. The department (police) would rake us over the coals if they ever found out we did this."

"We search them (pimps) all the time since a number of them are in the drug trade. We don't as often search the girls. Sometimes we take them in and search them. It takes them (the women) off the street and interrupts their business flow. If we see a guy talking to a prostitute, we'll stop and converse with them. They usually get nervous and drive away when we pull up. If we see them in a parking lot with a guy, we may approach and talk to them. Run the clients name for warrants. Maybe

give them a parking violation. A lot of them know we can't do much, but the average person gets embarrassed and leaves. If they get offensive, we try to embarrass them and dissuade them from returning. We make it clear to some people that we don't want them back. We tell them they'll get in trouble from prostitutes or us. We say 'Who knows what will happen in a dark alley', and let them draw their inferences from that. If they do come back, nothing happens. Sometimes it works. Sometimes it doesn't."

The women, too, testified to the embarrassment of the types of activities police engaged in to maintain a working control over the location and numbers of women on the street.

"Last year, the police closed off the street every night for three weeks. They stopped every third car and said if your plate number comes up more than three times, you'll get a fine. It scared the tricks away. The money moved. So did I."

"Police are the worst for stirring up rivalry on the street. Police would tell the old girls to move off corners when new girls hit town. Use the old 'divide and conquer' routine. It works real well on the streets."

"Police would stop and ask me for information all the time. Rule #1 in the business - mind your own business and don't talk about anyone else. So I did, and got hassled by some of the cops for minding my own business."

"Like I said, the police are generally pretty good. Especially if we are polite to them. If you're not polite to them, they can give you a lot of trouble. For example, by sitting on your corner -- discouraging dates. In the past, they've nabbed dates for traffic violations. They have tried giving us littering tickets, like for throwing cigarettes on the ground. That was a real hassle. What did they expect - us to bring ashtrays to work?"

All four of these police activities aimed primarily at control, do nothing other than to establish a holding pattern, an uneasy equilibrium among the users of the public streets. From the police point of view, these activities require none of the skills for which the police were either recruited or trained, but they do consume large amounts of police time. And none of these tactics has any lasting effect on the occupation of prostitution.

SECTION THREE

THE LIFE

A. PROLOGUE

It is probably fair to say that THE LIFE cannot be fully described nor appreciated without extensive participation. A short foray by white, middle-class, relatively young women with questionnaires into the 'fast-lanes' of a few Prairie cities will not show all. The study has only allowed us to touch our tongues to the hot and cold, the bitter and sweet of the distinct life style experienced by people who live outside the legitimate, daytime, regularized, world.

This study cannot tell all that happens on the street. But it can describe what happened to some people who live THE LIFE. The purpose of this section of the report is to describe to the reader some of the activities actually involved in selling sex from street corners as seen through the eyes of the sellers themselves. The portrayals will not coincide with the experience of every seller or buyer, but will at least tell the actual experiences of some. This is THE LIFE surrounding female sellers and male buyers.

B. THE FEMALE SELLERS

B1. Introduction

The existence of a single word like prostitute tells little of the variety of activities and styles documented in this study. There are several characteristics commonly associated with attempts to define prostitution in some all-inclusive sense. These would include such things as:

- selling of sexual services in an environment free from coercion
- the receipt of money in exchange for the service
- the selling of services to a large number of buyers
- a transient and fleeting relationship, between buyer and seller
- an impersonal and anonymous relationship between buyer and seller

At first glance, these would seem appropriate applied to street prostitution. Yet, both these characteristics, and their opposites, were found in the business of selling sex off the street. For example, the amount of coercion (physical, emotional, financial) formed a continuum from low to high, although never non-existent. Money was the primary payment for the service, but other forms existed. Some women sold to different customers every time; others had one or two regulars, and a few transients; others still had only one or two 'marks'. The relationships ranged from one ten minute slot in a life time, to monthly and yearly relationships. The form of intimacy ranged from a

single, hostile, short point of contact, to ongoing, regularized and broadly developed socio-emotive relationships.

There is no typical street prostitute in the Prairies, and there is no classical prostitute-customer relationship. It is only possible to conceptualize the characteristics and activities of the woman who sells sex off the street as having a variety of dimensions, each represented by a continuum in itself.

B2. Demographic Characteristics of the Women Interviewed

Given the difficulty of obtaining lengthy formal interviews with most of the women in the study, the demographic questions were left to the end. Consequently, the data is incomplete, and in some cases, it is based on an estimation made by the interviewer. But the trends are relatively straightforward.

In total, thirty-six women were part of the study, with twelve of those incarcerated at the time.

B2.1 Age

The age ranges of the female sellers were as follows:

TABLE 19: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE SELLERS

<u>Age Ranges</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
10-15 years	3
16-20 years	15
21-25 years	7
26-30 years	8
31 years plus	1
Unknown	1
Total	<u>36</u>

From the women who agreed to talk to us, from their comments about others, and from visual observations of the street scene, it is apparent that the most common age range for female street prostitutes is from 16 to 30, with the majority being from 18 - 24 years old. It is not a business employing older women.

B2.2 Ethnicity

The identification of respondents' ethnic origin came from a combination of self-identification and some interviewer assessment.

TABLE 20: ETHNICITY OF FEMALE SELLERS

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Caucasian	17
* Native Ancestry	17
Black	<u>2</u>
Total	36

(*Respondents identified as of native ancestry were either self-identified as such, or identified by a name known as referring to a known Indian family, or by their birthplace being on a Reserve. We included here Status Indian, non-status Indians, Metis, or anyone identifying themselves as Indian or Native.)

Twelve of the women of native ancestry interviewed were incarcerated at the time of the study. It was very difficult to make contact on the street with native prostitutes. One obvious reason was that they worked in different physical locations, in at least two of the cities, from the other women, and time did not allow the research team to 'establish' itself in two separate 'communities' in each of the target cities. Other reasons for lack of access to native women would be merely speculative.

B2.3 Educational Level

TABLE 21: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF FEMALE SELLERS

<u>Level completed</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Grades 0 - 7	2
Grades 8 - 12	30
Post-secondary	<u>4</u>
Total	36

While the educational level was not exceptionally high, eight of the women had completed grade twelve, and some had some technical and university training. These women were not illiterate, but they had few skills directly related to the modern, rapidly changing demands of the workplace.

B2.4 Marital Status

TABLE 22: MARITAL STATUS OF FEMALE SELLERS

<u>Status</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Single	22
Married	1
Living with Someone	7
Divorced	2
Separated	4
Total	<u>36</u>

Few of the women were living in a state of legal marriage. Most claimed to be single (22), while others claimed to be 'living with someone' at the time, not revealing their marital status in legal terms. None referred to the person they were living with as their common-law spouse unless they were specifically asked in those terms. We did not ask the gender or relationship of the person with whom they claimed to live. Two people claimed to be divorced, four were separated, and only one person was married and living with her legal spouse.

B2.5 Number of Children

Many of the respondents claimed to have children, for whom they were the sole responsible adult.

TABLE 23: NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF FEMALE SELLERS

<u># of Children</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
None	12
One	11
Two	7
Three	0
Four	1
Five	1
Pregnant	3

A few mentioned that they shared the care of the child with their mother or parents. Those who were incarcerated and had children shared their children and child-care responsibility, with a mother, the child's father, a common-law husband, (not always the same thing) or government custody (temporary). One of the pregnant women had children already, the other two did not. Two respondents did not provide data on this question.

B2.6 Religious Affiliation

The question on religious affiliation offered the respondents only general categories, and no one replied more specifically than the following:

TABLE 24: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF FEMALE SELLERS

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Protestant	7
Catholic	8
None	16
No Response	5
Total	<u>36</u>

B2.7 Urban-Rural Background

Only one respondent considered herself to have lived most of her life in a rural setting. Three answered, a mixture of rural and urban, and the remainder, thirty-two in all, had lived all or most of their lives in the city, or next to a large city in the case of some Indian reserves. The latter considered themselves urban people.

B2.8 Criminal Record

Of the women interviewed, twelve were incarcerated at the time of the study, and five others admitted to having been so previously. One was awaiting trial on a charge of keeping a common bawdy house, but none of the remainder had ever been charged with or sentenced to an institution for a prostitution-related offence. The crimes with which they had been involved included shoplifting, possession of, and trafficking in, illegal drugs, welfare fraud, assault, attempted murder, robbery with violence, passing bad cheques, driving while suspended, drunk and disorderly, and so on.

B2.9 Age at Entry

Here there is no meaningful rule or average experience, although the majority of women we interviewed started selling sexual services between the ages of 15 and 16. The missing respondents either refused to tell, stated that they could not remember, or were not asked because of the nature of the interview situation. The pattern of entry for our respondents was as follows:

TABLE 25: AGE AT ENTRY TO PROSTITUTION

<u>Age in Years</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
10	1
12	2
13	4
14	2
15	6
16	7
18	1
19	2
20	2
21	1
24	1
26	2
Total	<u>33</u>

It was clear, however, from what respondents said about their knowledge of others, that they knew of individuals who started as young as nine years of age, but no one over thirty, at least not on the street.

C. REASONS FOR ENTRY INTO THE BUSINESS

Not one respondent admitted to entering the business of selling sex for any reason related to the activity itself (i.e. easy sex, sex for thrills, being starved for sex, etc.). Without exception, they all claimed that they entered this line of work for MONEY.

C1. Push Factors

Fourteen respondents implied that entering the occupation was a necessary decision, for the purpose of SURVIVAL. The money from prostitution was the only source they had available to them, to their knowledge, at the time. One had a child to support, one had run away from home, several could not get enough money from their parent(s) (and defined their unfulfilled financial needs as critical), while still others felt that their almost total lack of skills or training related to jobs pushed them to prostitution for survival. These responses invariably could be classified as PUSH factors. These women did not see themselves with any real choice.

"Money. I got involved to make money and because the man I was head-over-heels in love with wanted me to."

"I became a whore for the money. I needed to eat. I had left my old man and I wasn't making enough money, so I became a whore."

"I got to Canada and couldn't find a job. I needed money to live, so I became a prostitute."

"I needed the money, but my family needed extra funds."

"I was in a locked setting for youths. Some of the girls there were involved in prostitution. They told me about it, so I went out and did it. I was on the run and needed money to eat."

C2. Pull Factors

On the other hand, another group of women, also starting prostitution for MONEY, expressed factors typified by a strong PULL component. Rather than need, the factors were WANT. Three women claimed to want to find a way to improve their standard of living, and compared the ease of making money through prostitution to the drudgery of regular jobs available to them with their restricted skills. Three women had high standards of living which were threatened, and turned to prostitution to maintain themselves at an acceptable level. Two women saw prostitution as a way to make money and become rich, and one expressed her desire for money for the purposes of 'partying' (i.e., drugs, clothes, etc.). These respondents saw themselves with some choice, but chose the route with the better monetary pay-off in their estimation, leaving behind the drudgery, poverty, and routinization of the normal work world.

"I'm not impressed with what the straight life had to offer women. Women are so put down. A lot of prostitutes have more sense of themselves than straight girls. I have a better sense of what I am. I tell people I don't need them. I can take care of myself . . . I have freedom--don't have to put up with the bullshit of boss, hours, drudgery of straight life. I've never been on unemployment or welfare."

"I was talking to a girl whose husband put her out and told her to make money. She came down to the street expecting to make fast money."

"I got started because I wanted the money. A friend of mine always had money and clothes and I asked her how she did it. She told me--took me down to the

agency she worked at and I got started in the business. Once I got started and making the money, it didn't seem like such a big deal. People do worse things for a living."

"I got involved with prostitution because I wanted the finer things in life. I recognized I could get paid and paid well for providing well-off men with sexual services." (This respondent ended up as a call-girl after starting as a street-hooker.)

"I became involved out of boredom. I wanted to get some money to buy drugs, so I turned my first trick. Whenever I wanted extra cash I'd pick up a customer hitch-hiking or something and turn a trick. I started turning the odd trick at fifteen just to get easy cash."

D. "TURNING OUT" PROCESSES

The phrase 'turning out' refers to becoming involved in street prostitution. It is a process, not a single act. It may take hours or days. The majority of sellers we spoke to were reluctant to provide much detailed description about how they became involved in prostitution, but the few who did essentially corroborated the information supplied by others, about the processes involved.

Although there are probably as many ways to turn out as there are routes to becoming a hockey star, the study identified at least three somewhat distinct patterns. The major factor that distinguished them is the degree to which the seller plays a conscious and co-operative role in 'turning herself out'.

D1. Purely Exploitative

This pattern involved women who were young (12 - 16 years of age) and were usually no longer living at home. Either they were on the run from home, or from a juvenile detention center of some sort, or they were living in a foster home. It involved assertive and purposeful men who are actively looking for very young women to turn out. The women's needs centered on survival (money, shelter, and clothing). These functioned as the push factors. The women's interests centered on an exciting time, and an emotional attachment to a man. These functioned as the pull factors. The experienced manager could promise (not necessarily provide) all those things. Generally, the young woman was transient and mobile, having entered the core of the city from a rural area, or another city, or a residential area of the same city. Some of the best places to recruit new women who were completely innocent

(totally unknowledgeable about the street) were bus depots, train stations, and airports, in order of utility. This does not mean that managers will necessarily approach a young woman in a bus depot, but they became experienced in spotting a potential candidate, and will follow them into the streets. As night comes, and the woman has no place to go, she ends up in a bar, or standing in front of a bar, where there is lots of activity and lots of people on the street. There, the man approaches and asks her if she wants a drink, and wants to know if she is lost or has any friends. If she is quite young, he will act like a big brother, telling her she should not be in this area because it is dangerous. Finally, the offer will come for a place to stay for the night.

Once the girl has accepted the offer, she has started incurring her debt, both financial and emotional.

The next sequence of events may take a few days, or even weeks or months. Often, there will be no demand for sexual relations, but a friendly relationship develops, moving from brotherly affection to references like 'my little girlfriend', and some kissing, hugging, lap-sitting, etc., will occur. During the period, the young woman will witness other women 'cashing in' at the man's apartment, and will see very large amounts of cold cash handled by the women who are hooking. She will witness and participate in the purchases of fashionable clothing, parties, extensive drugs, and 'life in the fast lane'. The man will continue to protect her, and if she goes down to the street, he will tell her to stay away, that she shouldn't get in the way of women while they're working. He will treat her with warmth, but like a dependent child. The young girl begins to feel that she must pay her way. In her mind, she is on her own, is independent, is grown up, and wants to relate to the man as a girlfriend, not a sister. When she begins to show interest in learning how to earn money in the only way available to her at the moment, the man absolutely forbids her to do that. If she is on the run from the law, he even says he will not turn her in even if she has no way to pay. Enter the big brother (or someone introduced as the big brother). This second man has, from the beginning, told the young girl she should be out earning money, that she should not be taking money, that she is ripping off his younger brother. Over a period of several casual visits to the apartment, ostensibly to see the younger brother, he also lets the girl know some essential information, such as where prostitutes work in town; and may introduce her to some of the women he may bring with him from time to time.

On one of these casual visits, the brothers argue. The older one insists that the girl must go out and make some money. The younger one says absolutely not. They argue, fight, the younger brother stalks out, and literally may not be seen again. The older brother is then all the young girl has left, and she knows that:

1. he will not support her unless she works;
2. he will turn her in to authorities if she is on the run;
3. he can be very forceful (possibly she has seen him violent with one of his other women).

Now the older brother becomes helpful and supportive. He helps her find a location, introduces her to other women, gives her drugs so that she can be stoned when she faces her first experience on the street. The other women will provide the working knowledge of what to say, how to use a safe, how to provide various services, what the going prices are, how to cash in all your money, and so on. The young girl has been 'turned out'.

For the very young and the very naive, the turning out process is almost purely exploitative, except for the fact that the woman does learn how to survive without the use of legitimate social service agencies or some form of parental support. The younger brother in the above pattern may show up again on the street, and may still remain the friend of the prostitute. His part in the process has been seen by the girl as purely innocent.

There are other forms of pure exploitation which do not require any form of sophisticated Mutt and Jeff routine. Sometimes, a man will simply 'abduct' a juvenile from a bar once he knows she is on the run, and will threaten her life unless she pulls tricks for him. He will literally force her to use drugs, keeping her stoned almost continually, while she works for him. But this process is not a good investment, as the woman will not earn as good money if she is stoned all the time, and in her few lucid moments of discussion with other women, she will discover that other pimps treat their 'ladies' better. Once streetwise enough, she will leave him for a stronger, more desirable, pimp.

Some of our respondents had experienced 'exploitative' beginnings.

"When I was fifteen, I started going with a guy who was twenty-five. At sixteen, I was pregnant by him and had a stillborn. At seventeen, he had me talked into working the streets for him. I'm black. I don't look black. I wanted to fit in someplace. This guy let me fit into the black world so I stayed with him because I wanted to belong somewhere."

"I was on the street (thirteen years old) and this man named _____ asked me if I needed or wanted a place to stay and some food. I said sure and went with him to his house. He picked up eight of us

(five girls, three boys) that night. We were given a shot of speed--syringed and had our first trick."

"I had to have sex with _____ and with all the others in front of _____. He enjoyed watching and participating in group sex. At the age of fifteen when breasts and pubic hair developed, a girl was too old work for _____, and worked independently."

"These kids leave home without any money, feel bad about themselves and look down on themselves. A lot of them are young--young in the mind. At sixteen, what do you know? After a year of work, you're still a 'turn-out' because you don't know enough yet." (An older woman referring to kids under sixteen who get turned out.)

D2. "Sisterly" Support

This form of beginning generally involved women who were a little older (fifteen-nineteen years of age). A typical scenario was a teenager living at home, but unhappy for some variety of reasons (not enough money, restrictive parent(s), drinking parent(s), abusive parent(s) either sexually or just physically). The young woman was likely still attending school, but her orientation was to the activity of the street--entering bars underage, buying and possibly selling minor amounts of drugs, shoplifting fashion or luxury items even when money was available to purchase them. The group that the woman hung around with was slightly older than her. She would make acquaintances with an older woman (usually no more than a year or two older) who was a working girl, at least more than casually familiar with the street and the rules. The choice of the initial involvement was solely the woman's. She was not pressured by a man, but the push came from dissatisfaction with home/school and the pull came from being eye-witness to the simplicity of the job, and the apparently rich monetary payoff, coupled with the flashiness of the over-all street-life, especially the partying, drugs and high levels of sensuality.

This young woman would decide that tonight was the night, go down to the street with a female friend and stand with her. After having asked a lot of questions about words, methods, personal and hygienic safety, and been fully educated by her female friend, the young woman would decide to try it. The first few tricks, or even the first evenings, she would work with her friend, but very shortly, she would have to find a man, a pimp, whose name she would use. She would not be allowed to remain on the street unaffiliated, either by the pimps or the other women. She would begin cashing in to her friend's pimp, or she would

approach another known man who had a 'good name' and ask him if she could work for him. As the saying goes, 'you don't look a gift horse in the mouth', and she would be turned out.

A slight variation on the process would involve the young woman in getting to know a group of street people, being familiar with who the pimps were, as well as a few of their ladies, and being directly approached by one of the pimps to become involved. The line here would be for the purpose of supplying simply a rational justification so the woman could overcome any morality barriers she might have to her own involvement in selling sex. Usually the argument would be a very practical one to a woman of seventeen or eighteen: Why give it away free when you can make so much money for doing even less, and you can have a good time and not get tied down?

Through her association with people on the street, and the assistance of a woman already working who was close to her own age (i.e., sisterly), the young woman made her entry into the business of selling sex, giving some but not all her money to a pimp, likely paying a set minimum amount or quota per night, and remaining in strictly a business relationship with him. This woman was likely to use drugs for social purposes, but less likely to become hooked into any consistent need for a particular drug, so that drug dependency was not a factor in her entry into, or remaining within, the occupation.

"I baby-sat for a woman who was a hooker. I began hanging around with her and her friends. Everyone always had money and clothes. I decided to give it a try as a professional--you know, working at it all the time. I asked the woman I baby-sat for to turn me out and she set me up on her corner with her friends."

"I started at sixteen -- but I wasn't stupid or naive. Lots of girls don't know their ass from a hole in the ground and it's dangerous. They are in danger if they are too naive. They are going to get hurt sooner or later. Send them home to parents or juvenile detention centres. At least they are safe."

"When I first moved to Calgary, I was working two jobs and just wasn't making anything. The black guy living next door to me was really nice to me and started buying me gifts. I thought it was really sweet of him and didn't think of refusing them. Then the guy next door to him (also black) told me what was happening. He kind of saved me from working for the guy next door but it wasn't long before I was working for him. He was my old man for awhile, i.e., we lived together. My working was

helping us to get the things that we both wanted. I don't know it at the time but he was actually pimping me I guess."

D3. Mature-Pragmatic

This entry process involved women in the age range from approximately eighteen to twenty-four whose interest in selling sex was in the money, and not in the LIFE. The reason most obviously attached to the involvement was economic survival. These might have been women who were involved in street-life partying but had not turned tricks, had knowledge of the activity, but had no need or interest until a change in their economic status. They may find themselves out of school, growing older, untrained and unemployed. Or they may be leaving a marriage with no financial support. Or they may have a small child for whom they are the sole means of support. Whatever the reason for entry, these women 'know what they are doing'. They may initially attach themselves to a manager, and depending upon the city, remain attached, paying as little a percentage of their income as they dare. If the opportunity arises (i.e., they become known to the women and accepted, and show independence from the managers), they may eventually be allowed to keep everything they earn.

These are the rare women who literally 'turn themselves out'.

"One girl came home with money and I talked to her. She told me what to do; how much to charge, to use safes, where to go, to carry a knife and that I had to have an old man. I used my common-law and turned myself out."

(An independent) "My sister works. Had been long before I did. I never thought there was anything wrong with it--to me, it's just a business. When I quit working straight jobs, I was getting paid \$7.00 an hour busting my ass. I thought, 'I'm busting my ass and what am I getting for it?' So I 'turned myself out'. It helped having someone already in the business to provide tips. If you're a survivor, you're a winner."

In some instances a woman has moved in and out of prostitution. She may have been turned out when very young by a forceful or smooth-talking male, withdrew from the activity for a time because of a love relationship with a male that may have resulted in marriage and/or children, broke up with that male, and later finds herself with a child to support, so with the existing knowledge of the street, returns in a very pragmatic way.

E. ADVANTAGES - DISADVANTAGES

Although the respondents were not asked a direct question about the advantages and disadvantages of their work, it was possible to develop some basic issues from a variety of different questions, as well as from general comments that the women made. Apparently the same basic reasons for entry into the occupation remained the advantages for remaining there. In contrast to some other jobs, the advantages did not appear to change much with time, nor with experience, except possibly for the gradual loss of naivety of some of the women who had started very young, and for some, an increase in independence. Thirty-five of the women referred to MONEY as the major advantage of the job (this in spite of the fact that most prostitutes give much of the money income to someone else to spend and/or to manage for them). Six referred, in various ways, to the partying form of lifestyle and three to the excitement involved in being part of the street scene. Five women mentioned the sense of independence and personal power, while three noted that there was more time to spend with their children.

Data on the perceived disadvantages related to the occupation come from a variety of questions dealing with sources of abuse, use of drugs, 'costs' of the occupation, and general comments made during interviews. The two outstanding disadvantages mentioned were VERBAL ABUSE (noted by twenty-seven respondents) and PHYSICAL ABUSE (noted by twenty respondents). The next major problem noted was the over-all abuse by the women themselves of drugs and alcohol (sixteen respondents noted this). Differential treatment by, and threats from police were noted by thirteen women as an important disadvantage. From the following list, it is apparent that in general, the major focus of the women is on the personally abusive and personally unjust aspects of the business, at least from their points of view.

TABLE 26: PERCEIVED DISADVANTAGES OF PROSTITUTION

<u>Noted Disadvantages</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Verbal Abuse	27
Physical Abuse	20
Drug/Alcohol Abuse	16
Differential Treatment	
by Police	13
General Violence	13
Sexual Abuse	7
Dominance by 'Tricks'	
(getting ripped off,	
unwanted demands)	5
Dominance by Pimps	
(and common-law males)	5
Sexually Transmitted Diseases	4
Doing Blow-jobs	4

Time Away from Children	3
Degradation by Public (being called a whore)	2
Odd Hours	1
Loss of Children	1
Dead-end Job	1
Stress	1

Clearly, several of these overlap in meaning, but the women chose to verbalize their concerns in different ways. Some were willing to be very explicit about the forms of violence that had affected them, allowing them to be categorized in some form, while other respondents were very unwilling to describe the exact nature of violence that they had experienced, but referred instead to the generally violent nature of the street, and the life. For some, the reference to dominance by pimps, for example, included a concern about violence, but it was the dominance rather than the physical results on which they chose to focus.

Specific examples of these disadvantages will appear throughout the report.

F. CATEGORIES OF FEMALE SELLERS

One would not be so bold or any longer so naive as to suggest that on the basis of this study, a new and complete typology of prostitutes could be evolved. In order to document the variety of styles that existed, however, everyone interviewed was asked, at least as a start, what terms were used to refer to the women who sell sexual services on the street. Only one seller referred to them as prostitutes!

The following list gives some idea of the richness of the jargon which has evolved to describe the variety of activities and styles which exist.

hooker	the girls
slut	a city employee
whore	my lady
broad	my main lady
working girl	Ho (pronounced "hoe")
lady of the night	horse
lady of the evening	my old lady
two-bit whores	chippies
bubble-gum whores	tidies

The choice of the label depends on who is doing the talking. The majority of women prefer to refer to themselves as working girls, or ladies of the night. The term, 'broad' was commonly used by the native women interviewed to refer to themselves and other prostitutes, but was

not used by non-native respondents to refer to themselves. The other terms in the list are used predominantly by police, pimps, tricks, or other interested parties.

Among the women themselves, a hierarchy existed, differentiating the women in terms of respect and/or sympathy/acceptance they had for each other.

F1. "The High Class"

These women were the professionals. They dressed well, were attached to the most prestigious men, usually worked on a quota system (in contrast to cashing in 100% to the man), might have children whom they kept and supported, and were the backbone of any sisterhood which might have existed on the street. They passed on the training and orientation to newcomers, followed the rules of the game, and were basically business-like. Rarely were they victims of extreme violence either from pimps or tricks, because of their safety precautions, and their knowledge of the street. They were usually physically attractive by common standards, and generally over eighteen years old. They were not drug abusers, and a few were not drug users. They considered what they did as an occupation, and were in the business strictly for the money, not focusing too much time or energy on the after-hours partying lifestyle, although they did associate with each other. They were also the ones who controlled undercutting and responded territorially to an invasion of transients and juveniles onto their corners. They were known by the police as regulars, and had generally a non-violent relationship with police. These women made up the inner circle of street prostitution as a business, and followed the rules of fair play with customers. These women likely made the most consistent salary, and developed the most regular customers, some of whom would find them on their corner, or call them at their homes to pre-arrange a place and time to meet. If a woman was acting in a professional manner, but was not considered very attractive, either by tricks, or the other women, or the pimps, she would be on the street as a marginal professional. This implies that she would be part of the inner circle, but the pimps would not want to claim her as one of their ladies, so she would cash in to a pimp's main lady instead of to him, and so be allowed to use his name for her space on the street. These were women who were referred to as 'dogs' by the other women, because they were exceptionally ugly, skinny, fat, etc., and so only did enough business to make a bit of money over their quota. They were not included in the after-hours social life.

F2. "The Tough Broads"

Few in number, and generally disrespected by the high class women, the tough broads were distinguished by their interest in violence, and

their penchant to attempt to work alone, cashing in to no one. They and others referred to them as outlaws or lone wolves because they would fight for the right to be totally independent. They were perceived as unpredictable and volatile, and referred to by one woman as "just itching to cut someone". They were seen by others as daring, aggressive, and smart, but very risk-taking. These women, although involved in selling sex strictly for the money available, might coincidentally enjoy the potential for degrading male customers, and/or seeking revenge through violence towards males in any variety of categories. These women would rarely experience a licking at the hand of a male, but might end up dead. They would likely travel more easily than the high-class hookers, but alone, and probably across international boundaries. They might more easily end up incarcerated for some violent offence and would more likely become managers themselves.

F3. "The Drunks/Druggies"

These were the women who were addicted to drugs, or women alcoholics, and who used drugs heavily while on the job. Although some of them may appear to be high-class, they were considered by the other women to be 'two-bit whores' because of their willingness to sell sex for anything if they got desperate enough because of their need for some form of drug. They were not considered good women to have in a 'stable' because of their unreliability in the work world. They were either on the young side, fifteen to eighteen years, or on the old side, thirty plus, with the older ones being referred to as winos and dustbags by others on the street. They might be helping to support one male who was also a heavy user of drugs. They had few professional or work standards about price, location, types of services, health or safety precautions, and so were not respected by the other women, the pimps or the tricks. They tended to be the victims of violence from a variety of sources, and were in very poor physical and emotional health.

F4. "Chippies/Tidies"

Everyone else mentioned so far worked full-time, either to survive from one day to the next, or to make a decent living wage. Chippies come and go. They are the very young (often juveniles) who come to the street to make a few dollars, who want money for drugs, partying, clothes, a trip, etc.. They may be attached to an equally transient male, or may be the younger sister in a family where the older siblings are already on the street, or they may be an independent runaway struggling to survive.

No one likes these 'women' on the street. They undercut and are unfair competition because of their youth. They offend everyone's sense of morals about children prostituting, including the police, the

community, the other women, and some of the pimps. They often do not observe safety and health precautions, they use drugs at work, and they generally bring heat down on the street scene (unwanted attention).

G. THE MANAGERS

Just as in the world of legitimate occupations, women are the workers, and men are the managers. Although it is women who own the commodity being sold, it is predominantly men who control the marketing and distribution.

G1. Obtaining Information

Obtaining reliable data on the men who manage was not possible within the time frame allowed, partly because what the men were doing was in most instances, against the law. Direct approaches to a few of them by a researcher brought instant negative responses. A few of the women agreed to talk to their 'old men' on our behalf, but that route resulted in no co-operation. Finally, we resorted to finding some of our respondents inside correctional institutions, where they were (with one exception) serving sentences for offences not directly related to prostitution. The incarcerated managers were, so to speak, a captive group of respondents, whose past activities were publicly known and, therefore, they did not fear revealing information about the street.

The information in this section, however, represents the perspectives and experiences of the women who sell. The women themselves were asked some direct questions about whether or not they were self-employed, and if not, who they worked for, as well as several details about the manager if there was one. Police were also asked about the amounts of money paid to managers, and the involvement of managers in other illicit activities.

In general, the few managers we interviewed may or may not have biased their responses with bragging. We have no way of validating the information they shared with us. The information from the police was in most instances, impressionistic and hearsay, based upon contacts with the women rather than the managers themselves. The information from the women about their managers was not always internally consistent, and not always in line with the impressions of police.

Over-all, the activities of the men who manage remained basically hidden to our view. We can only relate what we heard and saw, but can not generalize it in any way.

G2. Terms for Men Who Manage

The term MANAGER was never used by any category of our respondents, and yet it is management that the men engage in. Common definitions of the term management include the following activities:

- to take care of
- to take charge of
- to succeed in bringing about
- to dominate, or influence, by tact, artifice, or address
- to handle, direct, govern or control in action or use
- to contrive to get along
- to wield (a weapon, a tool, etc.)
- to conduct affairs
- to manipulate
- and most ironically,
- to handle or train a horse in the exercises of the manege (which is a school for training horses and teaching horsemanship).

(Managers refer commonly to the women who work for them as HORSES, and collectively to their group of women, as a STABLE.)

On the street, however, the men who have influence over the women who sell sexual services are variably referred to, either by the women themselves, or other street people, using the following terms:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| - My old man | - Backers |
| - Players | - Collectors |
| - My boyfriend | - Gentlemen |
| - Gigolos | - Pimps |
| - The name | - A man with connections |

None of these street terms denotes such an obvious power differential, as the term Manager does. Yet, we did not find any relationships which one might easily term equalitarian, or in which the women clearly had more power than the male involved.

G3. Styles of Management-Worker Relationships

G3.(a) The "Name"

The man with the "Name" on the street is at the top of the hierarchy, from the point of view of the women, other managers, and the more powerful clients. This is the individual whose reputation rides on several different factors, including (but not prioritized):

- his working relationships with other managers, and rounders
- the reputation of his stable
- his personal abilities to earn income independent of his women

- his inter-relationships with 'legitimate' men of high status (doctors, lawyers, businessmen, etc.)
- his abilities to negotiate with the police
- his management abilities.

The man with a good name may be a member of a family with several brothers, all of whom are involved with the street, or he may be a single individual who has developed a good name with his own talents. He will likely be involved in a variety of illegal activities including dealing in drugs, boosting, theft of prescription drugs, buying and selling of stolen cheques and credit cards, gambling, etc. He will have access to weapons, and be willing to use violence, using it sparingly on his women, but frequently on others, especially when his NAME is threatened.

His name alone will protect his women from other women, other managers, and even from customers once they know him. Once established, he will not have to actively recruit women: they will ask to work for him. Of the three types, he is likely to be able to manage the largest number of women at any one time, possibly up to five or six. He will live with only one of them.

His women will be well turned out in clothing, mannerisms and language, and will not be heavy drug users, especially while working. He will not manage drug addicts.

His women will have regular medical check-ups, and will remain clean and non-pregnant. He will not manage or recruit juveniles. Depending upon the relationship he has with each woman, he will take between 100% and 30% of each woman's pay, imposing a minimum nightly quota on each. His 'main lady' with whom he lives will likely turn over 100% to him. His main form of control over the women will be through encouraging them to compete with each other, and correspondingly, rewarding them with differentially valued gifts and status, both in the social life of the street, and in relation to him.

He will have a symbiotic relationship with a medical doctor, or several doctors in more than one city. The doctor will provide his women with medical care, and himself with drugs and unquestioning attention to questionable wounds and venereal disease, in exchange for money, and some form of procured sexual services, sometimes from the manager's women, but possibly from male juveniles. All it takes is one doctor in town with somewhat illicit sexual tastes, and the manager with the name will find him. He will also have a lawyer on retainer, so that at any point, whether for his women, or for himself, he can obtain bail and legal advice instantly.

This form of manager is 'around' all the time, but does not just sit and watch his women. He himself is actively involved in other street activities, and is likely to travel throughout the prairie region in order to maintain his information flow, as well as his NAME (i.e., the right for him to bring his women and his other illicit activities to

any of the cities on the circuit). If he travels alone, he will 'party' with other street people, drinking, doing drugs, shoplifting, and generally finding out where everybody is. If he takes one or two women with him, he will put them on the street to validate his power to come into a city that is not his own home city, and still be able to have space. Occasionally, he will face a threat from the local managers, and will have to show his force, either with weapons, or fists, or blackmail, or a back-up group of friends. (One particular individual was reported to carry a cross-bow and handguns.)

This manager is very well-known to the police, usually having some form of criminal record from juvenile days forward. The police will attempt to keep track of his movements. To the police, this man, although thoroughly criminal in his activities and career, is predictable and relatively normal. His violence and illegal activities remain within the boundaries of the street, and have little or no visible or unwanted impact on the legitimate world. They prefer it when he has large numbers of women working for him, because he is kept busy 'managing' them, and has a large income. Consequently, he is less likely to be engaged in other forms of illegal acts.

When arrested, he will be able to negotiate with the police. He will follow some code of honour which dictates that you do not rat on other rounders, but he will be willing to engage in some negotiation with the police. Since the police do not like weapons of any form loose in their communities, they (and the public prosecutor) are willing to reduce charges, drop some of multiple charges, ask for a lenient sentence, ask for low bail, etc., in exchange for obtaining illegal weapons (including explosives). Often the manager steals the weapons from whoever has them at the time, in order to turn them over to the police.

This manager will have large amounts of money, and will spend it conspicuously on cars, clothes, travelling and drugs. He plays a central role in the social life of the street.

The customer who gets violent with one of his ladies will hear from this manager. He will seek out a local customer at his house, and threaten his life. This manager does deliver protection for the money.

If this manager is incarcerated, it will likely be for serious criminal offences; robbery with violence, as well as causing bodily harm, arson, attempted murder, and so on. It will not be a charge related to prostitution or to his women.

G3.b "The Loser"

The loser is at the opposite end of the continuum. He is the most exploitative manager. He takes but gives very little. He has little

to offer, having few or no skills of his own in order to earn a living independent of the women he manages.

The loser views management as his only means of survival, and yet does not develop many human relations skills. He is likely to manage a minimal number of women, one or two, and control them through threats and 'lickings', demanding that they cash in 100% of their money to him. He is suspicious of their holding out money from him, and he is probably right. His women will be the least well turned out in appearance, physical health, clothing, language, and so on. He will turn out anything, as the phrase was put to us, 'from eight to eighty'. It is likely that both he and his women are drug addicts and/or heavy users of alcohol. Women did not stay with this manager any longer than they have to, and only a desperate woman and/or the most easily threatened, will continue with him.

The loser is truly into the protection racket with his women. Essentially, the women pay him to protect themselves from HIS violence, rather than the violence from customers, other women or other managers. He spends most of his time in the bar, and has little knowledge of what is happening from moment to moment on the street, so the women cannot depend on him to protect them from customers. He will provide his women with the minimal amount of goods and services, and will not concern himself with their physical or mental or emotional health until they are incapacitated and are not able to work. Then he will either punish them or dump them (trade, sell, or tell them to get lost). He has next-to-no contacts with the legitimate community, and therefore cannot provide his women with more lucrative appointments, or with appropriate legal or medical services. He will not become involved if his woman is arrested, and so it is the women of losers who are most likely ultimately to become one of the few women who testify against their own managers/boyfriends.

The loser is not likely to travel because he lacks the intra-regional contacts, the reputation, and the money. He himself cannot keep enough money to be able to consume conspicuously with new large cars and fancy clothes, because of his heavy consumption of drugs.

The loser needs his women's money for survival, and since his management methods make more experienced/independent women leave, this is likely the man who recruits very young women exploitively using the attraction of the high life.

The loser may have a criminal record for a long series of offences, none of which are likely to require organizational skills or advanced planning. He will be known to the police generally as lazy and no good.

The loser controls his women through physical/emotional/economic threats, and will carry them through.

G3.c 'The Bodyguard'

This category is not clear cut. It is somewhere between the first two on most of the traits.

The reputation of the bodyguard is not as an all-round 'rounder' nor does it usually extend beyond his own city. But he is known to treat his women well (i.e., fairly) and his ladies are also relatively well turned out.

Although he may not have extensive contacts in the legitimate community, he does concern himself with assisting his women with legal and medical concerns. He has them work by strict rules (regular check-ups, always use safes, no drugs on the job, etc.) but he sees these partly for their own protection, and not just as a way to protect his 'investment'.

He may have two to three women working for him at any one time, and is likely to have one of them as a main lady, although he, like the first category, pays attention to the emotional needs of all his women.

He depends almost predominantly on his women's money for his own economic survival, but is engaged intermittently and somewhat superficially, in a variety of minor criminal activities, most focusing on his own city (gambling, selling drugs, shoplifting, etc.). He will have nothing to do with turning out and managing juveniles. He does not transport his women. If he himself travels, it is generally to make a drug purchase, or to re-locate in an entirely different city.

He keeps a low profile with the police, and does not want to be known as a rounder or criminal or manager. If he is arrested, it will likely be for trafficking, minor assaults, fraud, minor thefts, etc.

This man controls his women by being on the street. He hangs out in the bars, but he also physically walks around the streets, or sits in a bar that overlooks the corner when his women work. If a potential customer becomes unruly, he will intervene if he is there. He also makes himself visible to the other women, and by doing so, recruits women to him while he protects the ones he has. He will have a 'serious' main lady, but they will participate only irregularly in the social whirl of the street.

G4. Managing Juveniles

Our respondents were convinced that only a desperate man would manage juveniles. They are known to be less careful about pregnancy and V.D., they go for fewer medical check-ups, and know less about their bodies than the adult women. They are considered 'flighty' and inconsistent in their coverage of their corner. They are seen as greater legal

risks with whom to be involved, both from the point of view of them testifying against their own manager, and because the rest of society can be vindictive and violent towards an adult seen as contributing to the down-fall of a child. The other women on the street overwhelmingly expressed a strong dislike for young kids hooking, and felt that people who recruited children were 'lower-than-the-low'. But they are recruited and they are active.

G5. Women Who Manage

In the world of prostitution, there are also women who manage other women. In numbers, they are the exception. One instance brought to our attention involved a period of time in which quite coincidentally, all the brothers in one family were serving prison sentences at the same time. This left the women they were managing without anyone to whom they could deliver their money, and without anyone to call on for protection. The brothers risked losing the women, so one of their sisters 'took over' the women, providing them with someone to cash in to, and maintaining the power of the brothers' name on the street as a source of protection. Another instance involved a young female procuring street women for male managers for a fee of \$400 to \$500 per woman, which was not really management in the usual sense. A third exceptional female manager had turned out several juveniles and young adults, including several relatives, was keeping them stoned, and using a great degree of violence to keep them cashing in to her. This ceased during a period of her incarceration on the basis of one of her young women's testimony, but started again once she was released. This woman was known to be very dangerous and violent, and the male managers had little to do with her. A fourth example was a well-known woman who managed female striptease artists, and had been in the business for approximately forty years. Street knowledge was that the women were selling sexual services as well as 'art'. The manageress had a reputation for fairness to her girls, and reliability and power with both the street and the client community, the latter which included (supposedly) many individuals in upper-status positions. There appeared to be no violence used in her management style. Finally, we were also told that in one city, some of the very young juveniles were cashing in to a few of the older women on the street, unbeknown to the managers of the older women.

No mention was ever made of women managing male street hustlers or male gays.

It appears that women managers either had to have a powerful family name on which to rely (i.e., ultimately be backed by men) or be exceptionally violent (to the point of being seen as crazy), in order to successfully manage hookers on the street.

The stereotyped older, caring, maternal madam who provided women who gave specialized services through phone or personal contacts, or who managed the local brothel, was almost nonexistent. But women managers were found in much greater frequency in the escort business. In two of the cities studied, women were either single-handedly, or in partnership with males, managing up to approximately fifteen escort agency phone lines and four body-rub parlours, although the majority of management was carried out by males. There was even an attempt to run a 'women's collective' escort agency. Given the lack of data on the actual dynamics of the business operations, however, it is not possible to say how much relative power the women had in the escort business, nor how long-lasting either gender of manager would be in a business that could be very tenuous.

H. THE CUSTOMERS

Within the time frame of this study, and the breadth of the geographical area, it proved almost impossible to locate any co-operative customer-respondents. Consequently, the demographic profiles of customers comes from the women who sell, and by necessity, reflects predominantly their perceptions and 'guesstimates' about their customers. Although many women had a few regulars, generally, the customers remained strangers to the women. Case studies of customers may be found in the appendix.

H1. Customer Profiles

The following table, showing the questions asked of the women and their answers, provide an initial picture of the perceived characteristics of those who buy sexual services on the public streets.

TABLE 27: CHARACTERISTICS OF CUSTOMERS AS PERCEIVED BY THE SELLERS

H1.1 Gender

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Are your customers:	
- all male?	31
- all female?	0
- both male and female?	1
- male and female together?	1
- No answer	3
Total	<u>36</u>

H1.2 Age

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
What age group do <u>most</u> of your customers come from?	
- under 16	0
- 16 - 18	0
- 18 - 25	8
- 25 - 35	17
- 35 - 45	25
- 45 - 55	11
- over 55	8
- all of the above	2
Total	<u>71*</u>

*The women were not willing to generalize, and several insisted on marking all the age categories that would subsume the majority of their customers. Hence there is a total greater than the total number of respondents.

H1.3 Income Bracket

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
What income group would best describe your customers?	
- upper	12
- middle	21
- lower	1
- all of the above	6
- don't know	2
Total	<u>42*</u>

*Again, some respondents marked more than one category.

H1.4 Marital Status

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Generally, are your customers:	
- single?	2
- married?	27
- divorced/separated?	0
- widowed?	0
- living with someone?	0
- don't know	3
- all of the above (except don't know)	3
- no answer	1
Total	<u>36</u>

It is clear from this data that people who buy sexual services from females, in public, are MALE. Even the few respondents we had who gave us the impression that they were lesbian in their own sexual orientation, basically sold sexual services to men.

The customers are generally in the twenty-five year to forty-five year age group, although the respondents mentioned customers as young as fifteen and as old as eighty years. Certainly, the majority are older, rather than the younger men.

They must have enough money to pay the price, so they at least give the impression statistically that they are middle class or above, in income.

One women claimed, however, that welfare pay day was always her best day, and another claimed that one of her regular customers was unemployed. A third specified truck drivers and construction workers as frequent purchasers of sexual services.

Although the respondents could rarely be absolutely certain of the marital status of their customers, the overwhelming majority of the respondents perceived their customers to be married. They based their guesses on three indicators: jewellery, open admission and later confession.

H2. Customer Categories

Although the statistical data gives us a profile of an older married man who has money as the main type of customer, they tell us nothing again of the variety of customer types. The normal customers are variously referred to by the women as:

- Tricks
- T.R.'s

- Marks
- Customers
- Clients
- Dates
- Bills

(or a variety of unprintable names, combinations of swear-words.)

Extensive comments from the women themselves, and from observations, led us to be able to distinguish two major categories, the NORMALS and the REJECTS, as well as several types within each category.

H2.1 Normals

The normal customer is the trick who is considered predictable. He only asks for what the women are willing to provide, making it clear in the initial contact what service he is seeking, and shopping until he finds the seller providing the service in question. He does not make added demands after the negotiation has taken place. He pays the quoted price although he may try some form of mild negotiation or bartering. But he does not question his obligation to pay. He understands and adheres to the specified time limits, and generally treats the relationship like a business contract. Normal customers can be meaningfully divided into several subtypes, as follows.

H2.1a 'Strangers'

These are customers who do not return to the same woman. They may be one-time buyers, or frequent buyers, but they do not buy regularly, nor regularly from the same woman. They generally cruise the streets in cars, or pick up a woman in a bar. They may in some cases combine the purchasing of sex from a hooker with an unsuccessful period trying to pick up a willing but free sexual partner in a downtown bar. They are not considered by any one woman to be a 'regular' although they may frequently purchase sexual services.

H2.1b 'Regulars'

These are customers who start by cruising the streets in cars, find a woman whom they are pleased with as a seller, and then begin to return regularly to the same woman. It may be as often as nightly, twice weekly, weekly and so on. The regular may then be trusted enough to be given the woman's phone number, and may begin to call her at home to arrange a time and place to meet. This individual does not relate to the woman in any way other than to purchase sexual services, and pay the regular price, although as the limited trust evolves, he may also

talk to the woman about many other aspects of his life (family, job, friends, etc.) during the time spent together.

"I prefer to have regulars because they sometimes will give extra money."

"I give my phone number to regulars. You can't afford to give it to any fool. A lot of guys don't like to come down to the street so they call you up during the day and say come over. We work out a time. I keep a file on regular customers, so I know exactly what they want and what they can pay. I built up a clientele during last winter. If we're going through a dry spell on the streets, I phone them to pick me up and vice versa. These guys don't like coming down to the streets due to the publicity in the last four years."

"Customers who were regulars while I worked often did not ask for a sexual service. Often they came for an hour of conversation and peace and quiet, away from it all. Those who requested sexual services requested oral sex or the enactment of a fantasy or mild dominance or a mild spanking."

It appears to be quite common for many women to have one or two regulars, as the following question and responses show.

TABLE 28: NUMBER OF WOMEN WITH REGULAR CUSTOMERS

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
"Do you have regular customers?"	
- Yes	28
- No	3
- No Answer	5
Total	<u>36</u>

H2.1c 'Marks'

These are regular customers with a bigger investment in the women's life. Several respondents said that everyone hopes to get some marks, and one woman claimed to have four.

"I have four marks. They all think they're in love with me. If they know I had others, they'd be mad. One mark is married. I don't let him talk about his family. One mark likes me to beat his ass after we're done. I don't like to do it, but I have to

keep him. They'd be mad if they knew I had a boyfriend. They're all older, lonely guys. They just want company. They all have money.

These are men who do not like to cruise the street in cars, but want available sexual services at their convenience. They choose a woman from one foray into the streets or sometimes find a woman through a process of inheritance (i.e. they take the younger sister or friend of a woman who no longer wishes to be of service to them). From the little information we have, it appears they are most likely to be men over thirty-five, with established occupations and families, and known in the community. (For example, some marks were said to be restaurant owners, hotel managers, owners of gasoline station franchises, and teachers.)

"A mark is someone who takes you out and buys you more things and gives you more money. A mark is someone who gives you money and you don't have to take him out all the time."

They provide their women with gifts of jewellery, with money with no strings attached when it is needed, and it is not convenient for them to 'collect' a sexual service at the time, and with gifts of clothing. In return, they expect to be able to appear at any time to pick the woman up, either with or without pre-arrangement, and have her spend time (relatively unlimited) with him. Sometimes, they may only request dinner with the woman, and at other times, they may ask to take her with them on a trip. The woman does not consider the mark to be her boyfriend; usually she still has an old man of her own. The mark is simply a very desirable and very reliable and committed trick.

"I'd bullshit to my mark. I'd go to dinner. We'd walk around together, have a cigarette, a drink, toke. Waste time. I'd say, "Are you going to take me out tonight?" If he was busy, he'd drop off \$50-\$60 just to keep me off the street. He was my sister's mark first. We talk. I give them love lines. We get money for talking to them. He gives me gifts. One talks to me about his wife. He told me he loved me. He talks to me when he's having trouble with his kids and wife. I listen to his problems as a friend. He and his friends would come and have coffee with me."

H2.1d "Fantasy-Men"

These men usually fall into the eighteen-twenty-five year age range, and are purchasing sexual services from a street woman for the purpose of challenge, dare, one-time celebration or thrill, or to act out a fantasy. They are not regular purchasers of sexual services, because,

according to the women, their young male egos would simply not allow the admission that they would regularly have to pay for sex. But they perceive the street as the source of sexual services not normally available to them, nor not normally so rapidly and simply available. The number of these types of tricks increases, for example, immediately following university graduation. Or it may involve a small group coming to the street to ensure that one of them fulfills a dare. Or it may be a group of two or three who try to buy one or several women at once in order to experience 'group sex'. (The women make it a rule never to go with more than one customer at one time, but it is apparent that they do break this rule in the case of obviously young, non-drunk, well-to-do university graduates.)

H2.1e 'Organizers'

These men do not purchase sexual services directly from the women. Instead, they will negotiate for one or several women through the women's pimps. The services of the women will be purchased for anything ranging from one hour, to overnight, and it will usually be for more than one customer. The organizer is often a lawyer, doctor, or a businessman who because of his community connections, is an acquaintance of the pimp, and trusts that the women are clean and trustworthy. (Otherwise, this type of procuring would more likely be done through an escort service.) The women may be requested to perform sexual activities with the men, or to dance and otherwise display sexual activities to men who will pay to simply watch. The occasion might be a stag party, a dinner after an important business deal, an important visitor who is being feted, a convention in town or some other similar reason. If the pimp is not able to provide enough women from his own group, he may 'borrow' some from another pimp.

"_____ (the pimp) would take all eight of us to a stag where there were cops, judges, parole officers, lawyers and so on. We all would dance and take off our clothes. At the end of the evening, there would be a raffle and eight men would win us. At some stags we had sex with each other."

H2.2 The REJECTS and Reasons for their Rejection

Although the normal customers differ greatly in their style, characteristics, approaches, frequency, etc., it is important to realize that they are all 'acceptable'. But there is a second category of customer who is unacceptable. These are customers to attempt to purchase sexual services but are turned down initially or later in the negotiations. The women were asked the following:

TABLE 29: NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO HAVE REFUSED CUSTOMERS

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
"Have you ever refused a customer?"	
Yes	27
No	1
Not asked	8
Total	<u>36</u>

It is clear that the majority of women engaged in active control themselves over who their customers were. The unwanted tricks appear to be those who don't play by the accepted rules. The refusals were for a wide variety of reasons, most being because

- 1) the person appeared unpredictable in terms of potential threat.
- 2) the person appeared very predictable in terms of potential threat
- 3) the person would not or could not pay.

When asked to give some example of the conditions under which a customer would be refused, the following reasons emerged, with several women giving multiple responses. Six women mentioned being led by their intuition. They could not pinpoint a specific reason, but the man just 'looked' like a bad bet.

"If I don't feel right about the guy. . . "

"I just got the wrong vibes."

"Got a sense he was going to be bad."

"Someone just rubs you the wrong way. So you refuse. Had to follow my gut reaction after I got cut up. I have to like them. It's my body and my choice."

Three women suggested that they automatically stayed away from tricks they have been warned about by other women. Four others suggested that they get to know the tricks who ". . . look or act dangerous. You get to know."

Several women expected tricks to be at least mannerly and respectful, and were quick to refuse any customer who was rude, abrasive, verbally abusive, or rough in their manner. Seven women described these men as 'having a bad attitude', or 'being obnoxious pricks'. Examples of statements made by the tricks, for which they were refused service, were "All you're worth is \$5.00" or "You should give it away, baby. You're not worth the money". As one woman put it "I won't take scum". Several refusals were for the following reasons:

- 1) Too dirty (literal, and implying potential for transmitting sexual diseases) - 4 respondents
- 2) Too young (for naivety, and because really young guys are felt to be bigger potential rip-offs, i.e. refuse to pay or not have the money) - 2 respondents
- 3) Too stoned - 1 respondent
- 4) Too drunk - 8 respondents

This is one of the most major reasons for refusal. Yet, the women did expect men to have been using drugs or alcohol. The women were asked the following:

TABLE 30: NUMBER OF CUSTOMERS WHO ARE DRUNK OR ON DRUGS

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Do your customers come to you drunk or on drugs?	
- all?	0
- most?	5
- some?	17
- very few?	0
- none?	2
- don't know	2
- no answer	6
Total	<u>36</u>

The answers indicate that it is common for customers to have been using something. Clearly, the women have each established some unwritten guideline beyond which they will not accept a customer influenced by drug use.

"If they're on dope, I won't do them. Speed makes them violent. If they're on smoke, they won't come. You can tell by their eyes, or just by asking."

The expressed reasons for concern over customer drunkenness were three.

- 1) Someone very drunk would take too long to complete the transaction, and waste the women's time.
- 2) The customer might become 'mean and pushy' (Potentially predictable violence).
- 3) They just might be too difficult to handle physically (i.e. to move around or they might fall asleep, etc. . .).

No one mentioned the dangers involved in driving with a drunk driver.

Some customers are refused because they want something 'unusual'. On the street, if a customer looks long enough, he is likely to find someone who will agree to sell him the services for which he is willing to pay. But each woman has certain activities she agrees to sell, and certain ones she will not. So she will refuse the customer and he will continue to cruise until he finds someone willing. Customers who ask for anal sex are likely to be refused by most of the women. (None of our respondents were willing to negotiate to engage in anal sex, although they may have consented or been 'forced' into performing anal sex during the activity itself.) Fewer, but still a substantial portion of the respondents were not willing to sell what they called 'kinky sex', i.e. usually involving domination-submission activities. The women were asked the following question.

TABLE 31: NUMBER OF CUSTOMERS USING PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Do any of your customers bring, refer to or use pornographic material in your presence?"	
- All	0
- Most	2
- Some	5
- Very few	5
- None	13
- No response	11
Total	36

If a customer asks for activities the woman is not prepared to do, she will refer him to a specialist if there is one available. Dominance specialists appeared to exist in each of the cities studied, but none of the women we interviewed either participated knowingly or voluntarily in, nor knew of anyone who specialized in playing the submissive role, or being involved in anything involving pain administered to themselves. Two-thirds of the respondents of native ancestry refused to provide blow-jobs.

Other customers are refused because of some hassle over money. Either they refuse to pay the price asked in the first place, and waste the woman's time trying to bargain for a better deal. Or they agree to the price, but refuse to pay when the cash is actually requested. Or they look from the beginning like they simply do not have that kind of money. Thirteen women mentioned these as the major reasons for refusal, and again, the women's judgment is the central factor in refusal for this reason.

Finally, there were a certain series of rejection reasons mentioned by only one respondent, each, as follows:

- 1) if the trick looks like the 'law'
- 2) if the trick wants to go to his place
- 3) if there is more than one trick in the car
- 4) if the man is of native ancestry (mentioned by several native women only)
- 5) if there is a weapon visible in the car
- 6) if the guy is someone else's mark
- 7) if the guy is someone's pimp
- 8) if the trick is driving a van

Finally, the customers who are rejected in the process of the sexual activity usually have become violent. One such example is of a woman who accompanied a male customer out of town in a car and then had him pull a knife on her, threatening to cut her up. She pulled her knife out of a coat pocket, and slit him badly on the hand. He then drove her back to the city. (Further examples of violence appear elsewhere in the report.)

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUSINESS

II. Location

In all three cities, street prostitution was located in a central downtown area or areas. Generally, there were two to three different 'zones' characterized partly by minor differences in prices and partly by ethnicity of the women involved, and partly the sexual orientation of the sellers. In all three cities, (and in one city particularly) there was some segregation of women of native and non-native ancestry, each group staying within their own respective zones. From observation, it appeared that two of the cities had a much larger proportion of women of native ancestry in the streets, than the third city.

The zones were characterized by high vehicle access, proximity to downtown hotels of both the expensive and very inexpensive variety, (providing respectively customers, and places to rent cheap rooms), zoning of a commercial category, occupied by at least some, late-night entertainment operations, and having within them, parking lots, parkades, and empty lots. In any of the cities, the zone would normally cover no more than approximately six to eight actively covered corners, although this would be extended during warm summer evenings, during conventions, and exhibition weeks. The women stand near bus stops, but predominantly on a the actual corner. If the street is one-way, they stand on the corner which gives greater access to the driver's side of the car.

I2. Street Coverage (Hours, Days of the Week, Seasons)

"Lots of the girls lose perception of time. They don't know what day it is, especially not the date because they are so involved in the life. This is really true in the cities like Vancouver or Toronto, where the action starts earlier--noon rush, off for a while, supper rush, then back at 9:00 p.m. until really late in the morning. You find yourself living on the streets, and you don't know nothing but the streets."

The coverage of the streets was complete, i.e. if there were customers out, there were women available. The major determination of working hours tended to be the degree of business available, although several women noted that irregularly but occasionally, they would work much longer hours than normal because their pimp needed money, and he would direct them to stay out longer hours, or go out for more days than usual. Similarly, if they unexpectedly needed money, they would work longer than usual. The women were asked what time their work day begins, and how many hours they usually work in a day. In some cases, they responded specifically in relation to themselves; in other cases, they also talked about the hours that some of their friends keep. Several respondents checked off several time periods, showing their whole day. Accordingly, we can only draw an approximate picture of when women do work and for how long.

I2.1 Time Periods on the Street

Although the majority of respondents worked between 9:00 p.m. and 1:00 a.m. in all three cities, each city had a slightly different time pattern. In Saskatchewan (Regina/Saskatoon) there was no clear time period during which all the women were out. Our respondents claimed the following variety of hours.

TABLE 31: TIME PERIODS ON THE STREET - SASKATOON (+ REGINA)*

<u>Times</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
10 a.m. to 2 p.m.	1
12 noon to after midnight	1
1 p.m. to 11 pm.m	1
1 p.m. to midnight	1
2:30 p.m. to 1:30 a.m.	2
3 p.m. to 6 p.m.	3
5:30 pm. to midnight	1
6 p.m. to 9 p.m.	1
9 p.m. to midnight	2

*(Several women from Pine Grove Correctional Center were women from Regina.)

One respondent mentioned she starts work after the bars close, while only two women mentioned that some women work until about 2:00 a.m. There appeared to be some business in the afternoons at least enough to have several women out soon after noon hour. One small after hour establishment existed in Saskatoon. No data was available for Regina. The streets of these two cities seemed to close up earlier than in Winnipeg and Calgary.

In Winnipeg, the majority of women worked between 6:00 p.m. and midnight or 1:00 a.m., showing less overall variety of hours of coverage of the streets. Of our respondents, few worked in the afternoon. Although our sample was not representative and we cannot assume that no one worked in the afternoons, street observation did not locate many people out on the corners until the evenings. The times listed for Winnipeg were as follows:

TABLE 32: TIME PERIODS ON THE STREET - WINNIPEG

<u>Times</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	1
12 noon to 3 p.m.	1
3 p.m. to 6 p.m.	2
6 p.m. to 9 p.m.	7
7 p.m. to 9 p.m.	1
9 p.m. to midnight	8
midnight to 4 a.m.	2

The women suggested that after about 2:00 a.m. the streets become vacant. There is a small variety of business after the bars close legally, and then everyone who wants to 'party' further retires to one of two or three after-hour establishments. Activities go on here until about 4:00 a.m. In general, women are then no longer accepting tricks, but are engaging in social activities themselves. (Escort services remain open until 4:00 a.m., however, as they employ women on an 8 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. shift.)

In Calgary, coverage of the streets was very similar to in Winnipeg, although a greater proportion of women stated that they worked until later hours on the street itself.

TABLE 34: TIME PERIODS ON THE STREET - CALGARY

<u>Times</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
before noon	1
noon to 3 p.m.	1
3 p.m. to 6 p.m.	3
6 p.m. to 9 p.m.	4
9 p.m. to midnight	7
after midnight	7
2 a.m. to 4 a.m.	5

After-hour establishments were also the common gathering place in Calgary for pimps and hookers at the end of the day.

There was limited variation from city to city in hours worked per day, average time spent with any one customer, days of the week which were high and low business times, or seasonal variation. Consequently, the following data reflects a summary of all three cities.

12.2 Length of Day

The number of hours worked on an average day varied primarily according to the economic needs of the woman, and secondarily, according to the demands of the managers. Some proportion of the women appeared to be on a quota system. They had to make, and 'cash in' to the manager, a minimum of \$150 per day. Beyond that, they remained on the street as long as their own economic needs were not met. Occasionally, a manager might need some extra cash fast, and would require that the women work until she made enough. When asked how many hours a day they worked, the women responded according to their usual habit, not reflecting unusual circumstances or demands:

TABLE 35: LENGTH OF DAY WORKED

<u>Number of hours worked</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
0 - 5 hours	11
5 - 10 hours	9
more than 10 hours	2
3 to 4 hours	1
5 to 6 hours	1
8 to 12 hours	1
only on Friday and Saturday	
Total	26

It was noted that as competition increased on the street (as it appeared to be doing in Calgary at the time of the study), that the

women would work longer hours in order to make the same amount. They did not raise their prices.

I2.3 Time Spent With Customers

The common concern about the amount of time spent with each customer was that it be as short as possible, partly because some of them found the customers generally distasteful, and partly because time was money. The women were asked to give the average time they would spend with a customer.

TABLE 36: AVERAGE TIME SPENT WITH A CUSTOMER

<u>Number of Minutes</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
5 to 10 min.	2
10 min.	1
10 to 15 min.	5
15 min.	5
10 to 20 min.	6
30 min.	5
60 min.	2
Total	26

The variation here reflects more the specific rigidity of the time limit imposed by different women, rather than any great variation in the time itself. The women who were spending over twenty minutes with a customer were charging by the hour rather than by the service, and were the ones most likely to be willing to sell themselves for a whole evening or a weekend. This data indicates the time spent with the customer in the sexual activity itself, but does not include travelling time. In the city of Calgary, for example, the provision of intercourse usually involved driving some distance to a motel complex, and the whole time away from the street may actually be between forty-five minutes and sixty minutes. In Winnipeg, where commonly used hotels were relatively close at hand, the travelling time might extend the time away from the street for intercourse to twenty to thirty minutes.

I2.4 Number of Customers Per Day

The number of customers seen in one day varied according to the monetary needs of the women, the day of the week, the time of the year, and the degree of competition on the street. For example, at the time of the study it was easier for a woman in Winnipeg to sell up to 10 customers on one day, whereas in Calgary, where competition was said to be quite high, it was more common to list four or five customers as a

very good day. Women in Saskatoon and Regina appeared to average somewhere in between, at three to four on a good day.

TABLE 37: NUMBER OF CUSTOMERS (AVERAGE) PER DAY

<u>Number of Customers</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
1 to 3	12
3 to 4	4
4 to 5	4
5 to 6	3
5 to 10	3
Total	<u>26</u>

Several respondents answered in other ranges, such as two to three on Monday to Wednesday, and five to six on Thursday to Saturday. One said, a low of four and a high of ten. Another specified never more than three, and another said two was enough since her boyfriend did not like her participating.

12.5 Variation By Days of the Week, Seasons, and Events

There was broad consensus among the cities about the peak business days and periods, and the lows. When asked to specify days of the week, and times of the year when business is best, the following responses were given.

TABLE 38: PEAK BUSINESS DAYS

<u>Days of the week</u>	<u># of Respondents who listed them as peak days</u>
Monday	2
Tuesday	0
Wednesday	2
Thursday	8
Friday	18
Saturday	16
Sunday	0
Total	<u>36</u> (Multiple responses)

The women who listed the early part of the week as good days reflected the fact that most of the women who worked part time were not on the street, and the few women who went out on low days were able to make some money because the numbers of women to choose from were reduced. The women did not all work seven days a week. Again, there was variation. Women with children preferred to work weekdays when their children were in school and keep Fridays and Saturdays free. Some

women preferred early afternoons during the week so they would have evenings and weekends free to spend time with their boyfriends.

TABLE 39: NUMBER OF DAYS WORKED PER WEEK

<u>Number of days/week worked</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
1 to 3	3
2 to 3	5
5	5
6 (not Sundays)	2
7 (but Sunday is slow)	5
According to need	5
Friday and Saturday only	1
1 (escorts other 6)	1

The women found that the busiest season was summer, although one specified that in Winnipeg, Spring and Fall were active because of the influx of fashion sellers into the city. Winter was definitely a low period, and most were affected by the cold, doing as little as possible just to pay bills. December and January were bad months; December, because men were spending money on Christmas presents, and January, because no one had money left. The street women modified their activities in winter also, tending to pay hotel clerks to find tricks, standing longer periods warming up in hotel lobbies, and working more frequently in bars. In one of the cities, it was mentioned that city employees, (including police), as well as cab drivers would pick the women up and drive them around the block a few times to let them warm up.

Special events also increase business. Stampede week in Calgary brings a lot more women into the streets, including all the regulars, and large numbers of young transients. (Calgary was gearing up for the Olympic street scene.) Holidays, paydays (including welfare days) convention season, and major sports events (including football, curling bonspiels, wrestling matches etc.) increase the business.

But in spite of highs and lows, the street coverage is complete. The women are there when the customers are there.

13. Sexual Activities

It is apparent that if one has enough money, and enough patience, almost any form of sexual service may be purchased from street sellers. However, the majority of the women do not provide the less common services; these are sold usually by a few women who specialize, and to whom customers who wish something out of the ordinary, are referred.

"If a trick wanted stright lay and I didn't provide it, I'd tell them they could get a blow job or turn them over to my best friend who did straight lays."

The degree to which the different sexual activities are requested, was estimated by the women respondents.

TABLE 40: TYPE OF SERVICES REQUESTED

<u>Type of Service Sought</u>	<u># of Respondents Who Listed Them As Requested</u>
Intercourse (Straight lay)	26
Fellatio (Blow Job)	25
Both the Above (half and half)	11
Hand manipulation (hand job)	10
Anal penetration (Greek)	5
Straight conversation	4
Bodyrub	2
Other ('kinky')	15

The women were also asked their preferences in terms of what they were or were not willing to sell. Their preferences were guided by one of mainly three factors: the cost/time factor involved, the degree of distaste for the particular act, and the danger involved.

TABLE 41: TYPES OF SERVICES PROVIDED

<u>Type of Sexual Activity</u>	<u># Who Provided It</u>	<u># Who Did Not Provide It</u>
Straight lay	12	9
Blow Job	11	7
Half and half	3	1
Hand job	3	0
Anal	0	4
Kissing	0	3
Kinky	6	5

Those who would sell straight lays did so because they could get more money for the service. There was more frequency of this activity in cities where access to motel/hotel rooms was closer and faster. No respondent mentioned that she sold this form of sexual activity because it was 'more normal'. Blow jobs were preferred by women mainly because of the speed of completing the task, and several women noted that they did not have to undress in front of the customer, nor did they have to touch his whole body.

Blow jobs were most frequently given in vehicles in the prostitution zone itself, meaning the woman could be back on the street in under

fifteen minutes, ready to make more money. Those who preferred not to provide blow jobs found the activity in their words, "gross".

A few women mentioned that they preferred to do hand jobs, but no women said they would not provide that service. Anal sex was clearly specified as out of the question by some women, and no respondent claimed to be willing to provide the service. The women willing to do half and half did it because it was more lucrative, and the one woman who said no, mentioned the hassle and time involved. Several women, as an aside, said they do not get involved in kissing; it poses too much health risk, and is too intimate. From other parts of the data, however, it appears that kissing may be part of the relationship with a MARK.

Clearly, several women were willing to provide unusual services, just as several were adamant that they would have nothing to do with these requests. The main stated attraction to providing out-of-the ordinary sexual services was the easy money; and secondarily, the expressed opportunity to humiliate, dominate, or degrade the trick.

"One man wanted me to bite the end of his penis until it hurt."

"One trick asked me to do three things. He wanted to watch me and my friend, he wanted to watch me and his wife, and he wanted her watching me and him."

"Most guys want some form of discipline. The mild forms are o.k. You get better money. I've done spanking with a riding crop, used a cock ring, done bondage with handcuffs, ... But most of them want verbal abuse. They want you to call them down, boss them around."

"This one guy had me dress up in a black bra and crotchless pants. Then I had to slam the toilet seat on his penis until it bled. Then he would come. For this, I got \$175. Hell, I would have done it for free."

"I would do 'golden showers', 'hot lunches', anything. Anything was better than having sex with them ... I'd do almost anything to avoid having sex."

"I used to have a regular. "He'd come over to my place, and ask me to order him to do things, anything. So I'd make him wash my dishes, and clean up the place. Then I'd tell him it was no good, and I'd beat him with something, not much, just hit him

over the back. Then he'd pay me and go home. I did that for a while. I couldn't believe getting all my work done, and getting paid. But I quit. It got boring. It was crazy."

"I used to have a gay trick that would get me to beat him over the arse with a hairbrush."

"Some of them like to dress up, and dress you up. That's all."

"Some guys just want to buy my panties and pantyhose. Once I sold a guy a pair of my worn pantyhose for \$50.00."

The customers with unusual requests appear to want to develop a 'regular' relationship with a woman once they have found one willing. If a woman becomes specialized enough, she may become involved in off-the-street organized activities of a kinky nature, and be requested to travel as well.

A small number of the respondents noted that they had been asked to display themselves, to differing degrees, for money. Some customers purchased simply a 'flash', nudity on view. Others would take still photos of the women in the nude. Others offered high pay for being in home movies, while some women were offered a trip to a larger city for involvement in the pornographic film industry. Only three women mentioned this last opportunity, but none of them went. When asked why, since the money was good, they all cited potential danger, even possible death.

The cost of any sexual service on the street is standardized, almost as tightly as if the women were wearing price tags. Within any one city, the price range is relatively narrow, and the range is accounted for by

1. the need to maintain the appearance of some negotiating space so the customer thinks he has struck a bargain;
2. minor variations in what the woman is providing (her own physical traits, her particular methods in the activity itself, and her over-all reputation);
3. the woman's economic needs on any one night (influenced by her own needs, and sometimes by her manager's demands);
4. the presence of novices who don't know the asking price, or who think they can get away with undercutting;
5. the overall degree of competition on the street, combined with fluctuations in what the market will bear.

The prices are 'set' predominantly by the women themselves. The managers try to be influential in price fixing. But ultimately, it is only the women who know what the market will bear. If a manager demands an unrealistic price increase, business will drop off, and the women will not be able to meet their quota.

The price ranges given for each city were as follows:

TABLE 42: PRICE RANGE FOR SEXUAL SERVICES BY CITY

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Saskatoon</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>	<u>Calgary</u>
Straight Lay	\$60 - \$80	\$80 - \$100	\$70 - \$80
Blow Job	\$50 - \$80	\$30 - \$80	\$50 - \$60
Hand Job	(not given)	\$20 - \$40	\$30
Half and Half	\$80 - \$120	\$100 - \$150	\$80 - \$100
Anal Sex	\$200	(not given)	\$150
Flash	(not given)	(not given)	\$20
Movies (amateur)	\$100/min'.	(not given)	(not given)
Kinky	\$75 half hr'.	\$150 - \$300 or \$100 half hr'.	\$60 - \$80/half hr'.
	(sex with a woman - \$250)		

With more regular customers, or for more unusual requests, the women would negotiate.

Three women specified that they most often worked by the hour, rather than charging for the activity, no matter how long it took. These were all women with several years experience, of whom two combined street work with apartment work and escort agency work. They charged in the range of \$100 per hour, \$500 per night, \$1000 per weekend plus expenses. They did whatever they were asked (within their specified limits) during that period.

I4. Services Consumed By The Women

The women were asked the following question about their use of services in the community.

"Do you use any of the following kinds of social services or agencies?"

TABLE 43: SOCIAL SERVICES USED BY SELLERS

<u>Question</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Medical Clinic	30
Counselling	3
Alcohol treatment (incl'. detox centers)	4
Food	4
Shelter	4
Emergency/medical	4
Other:	
Welfare	3
Social Workers	2
Dental	1
Drug Treatment	1
No response	6

(Notable by its absence was any mention of child-care centers of any type.)

With the exception of the medical clinic, all the other social services mentioned by the women were rarely used. In two of the cases who mentioned seeking community help with food and shelter, pregnancy had taken them out of the business for a short time, and they found themselves on their own. One of the respondents marked every service, as she was residing in a government center for youth, and it was providing everything for her at that time. Only one woman mentioned using an alcohol treatment program voluntarily, and the others would not say whether their involvement was voluntary, or forced by the courts, managers, friends, family or others. And in spite of the apparent amount of physical violence in the occupation, only four respondents admitted to having gone to the emergency section of a hospital, one having been taken by police.

"I used emergency once, because of a broken nose. I got a bit too smart, and my trick hit me in the face. The police took me to emergency."

Only three women were on welfare at the time of the study; two of these had children. (In other comments, four respondents specifically declared that they were too proud to take welfare, and that welfare agents only hassled prostitutes.)

In general, the respondents did not present a heavy burden to the 'public purse' in relation to their use of government supported social services.

I4.1 Medical Clinics

I4.1a Sexually Transmitted Diseases

One of the prevailing generalizations about street prostitutes describes them as "ridden with and transmitters of," sexually transmitted diseases. If our respondents are in any way representative, this can no longer be an accurate generalization. The women were asked: "Are sexually transmitted diseases a problem (fear) for you?" Eleven women said yes. Of those answering yes, four women said they feared all of them. Three others specified Herpes.

"I'm always afraid of getting some disease. I had gonorrhea of the throat once. It was really painful. I couldn't eat. When this happened, I started asking questions. No I know a lot more about herpes--that's why I'm so afraid of it."

Only four respondents claimed to have contracted any disease themselves (two had gonorrhea, and one had herpes, and one had a yeast infection), but they denied contracting it from customers.

"I always use safes with tricks. I got gonorrhea from my old man once, but never got anything from customers."

Eighteen women said the sexually transmitted diseases were no problem or fear for them, but each made it clear that their reasons for this were first, their unrelenting insistence that their tricks use condoms, (the importance and centrality of this street rule is discussed elsewhere) and second, that they attend very regularized V.D. checks at a medical clinic, or go to their own private doctors. Three respondents noted that the word will pass around the street when it becomes known that a trick is infected, and three other women said that they would stop work immediately if they had any suspicion that they might be infected with a venereal disease. All our respondents made it clear at various points throughout the interview that one of the prime determinants of their styles and activities is prevention of contracting or passing on, a sexually transmitted disease.

"All of my dates have to wear safes. Also, I do not let them kiss me or go down on me. If a safe breaks, I don't do anything with anyone until I know I'm all right. Some of the girls out there aren't that careful, though. . . . I go for regular check-ups with my own doctor, but if I just want to check for something specific I will go to the clinic. They are really polite there and don't make any comments about what I do. If a date doesn't

want to use a safe I just explain to him what could happen--taking something home to his wife."

I4.1b Other Health Problems

The women identified other health problems, some of which prompted their use of health clinic services.

TABLE 44: GENERAL HEALTH PROBLEMS

<u>Problem</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Lack of sleep	4
Poor nutrition	2
Being beaten up	3
Stress (burn out)	3
Skin problems	1
Death	1
Susceptibility to other diseases	1
Loss of self-respect	1
Hepatitis B	1

Hepatitis B is contracted often through the use of unsterile needles used in injections, and apparently appears on the streets as small, irregular 'epidemics'. This is one disease which was transmitted by the women, having obtained it themselves from injecting drugs (mainly prescription) carelessly. The infection is communicable, and produces severe symptoms, prompting even the hardiest of persons to seek medical assistance. The women tend to appear at public health clinics. The customers on the other hand, usually will go to a private doctor. One issue arose in relation to the cost of the injection (\$125.00) necessary to immunize one against Hepatitis B. The researchers were told that there was some 'reluctance' on the part of public health clinics to provide known prostitutes or their associates with such an injection at public cost, but that private doctors had no problem providing it to their patients under medical care plan. This 'rumour' came both from prostitutes, and from an anonymous clinic worker, but we could not validate the existence of such a formal policy.

"I got Hepatitis B a couple of months ago. . . went to _____ Clinic and they said they couldn't do anything for me. It cost my boyfriend \$125.00 for a shot. I had to go back to the clinic two times just to get a diagnosis."

(At the time of the study, the Canadian Red Cross had the treatment available to anyone, free of charge, but many of the women were not aware of this.)

Only two of the respondents mentioned any discriminatory attitudes or treatment experienced at community medical clinics.

"I got to the doctor at _____ Clinic and _____ Center two to three times a month. There is more respect at the _____ Center. They're real understanding and asked me if I was prostituting. If I had gone to _____ Clinic, they would have yelled at me because I was not on birth control pills. One doctor yelled at me about this and said I was too young to get pregnant."

We did not ask them to evaluate or assess the quality of the treatment and care they received.

I4.1c Birth Control Devices

The respondents were asked "Do you use any form of birth control?" with the following results:

TABLE 45: USE OF BIRTH CONTROL DEVICES

<u>Birth Control Devices</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Yes	13
No	13
No response	10
"If yes, what kind?"	
The Pill	7
Condoms	4
Abortion	1
Hysterectomy	1

At first sight, the number of NO answers might imply a potentially high pregnancy rate among prostitutes! However, through other comments and probing, it became apparent that the women separated conceptually, the use of safes under all conditions, with tricks, and the use of birth control, which they related more to their personal sexual activities. The thirteen respondents who said they did not use any form of birth control, did so, however, with customers. We had no respondents who admitted to having obtained abortions for the purpose of birth control under voluntary conditions. The only respondent who listed abortion as a form of birth control had experienced three abortions at the 'request' of her manager.

"If we got pregnant (she did three times between fourteen and seventeen years old) we were taken to the hospital in _____ in the morning and out

that night. Never saw the doctor, but we had some for customers. He must have been one."

For prostitutes, pregnancy is a health-job-related problem. It appears from our study that street prostitutes may be less likely to become pregnant than women in other occupations.

I4.1d Drug Abuse

From our interviews with health clinics, we found that prostitutes do not frequently seek their advice about drug-related problems. Consequently, we focused separately on this issue with the women. They were asked:

"Are drug and alcohol use a health problem in your work?: Explain.

TABLE 46: DRUG ABUSE AS A HEALTH PROBLEM

<u>Response</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Yes	13
No	5
I use them but they are no problem	13

There was a clear-cut difference between women who claimed to drink alcohol outside working hours, for the purpose of 'partying', and those who drank in order to more easily be able to do their work. The thirteen respondents who said they used drugs but that they were no problem were using them after hours, and were using alcohol, coke (when they could afford it) and marijuana. Those who used drugs while working, however, were predominantly using a prescription drug (or combinations thereof), or any mixture of prescription and non-prescription drugs they could obtain. Seven women specifically noted that they used drugs to make it easier to be able to do what they do.

"I use booze and drugs 'cause it's easier to do the job."

"I drank when I was working. Often I was very high and very drunk. I can't work when I'm straight. I was drunk the night the guy marked my back with his knife. I shot up, did acid, coke, pot. I did pills (valium) for a while. One time I got the shakes and didn't know where to find more pills. But I wasn't addicted to them because I got off them."

However extensive their use of drugs, both during and outside of working hours, the women did not frequently attend health clinics

primarily with a 'drug problem', but instead were treated for the effects of drug abuse (malnutrition, other diseases, etc.). Bad drug trips were responded to within the street culture, or by the emergency staff of a hospital. (It was not within the data gathered here to determine the percentage of women working on the street on any one night who were under a heavy influence of drugs, but observations and other comments suggest that there were always a few who were.)

The drugs referred to by the women, as in use on the street, were:

- alcohol
- marijuana
- cocaine (\$140 - \$180/gram - use up to 28 grams per day)
- heroin (\$40 - \$50/cap - use up to 25 caps/day)
- Demerol
- Seconal
- M.D.A.
- L.S.D.
- Talwin (\$10-\$15/pill; 3-4 pills in 3-4 hours)
- Fiorinal
- Tylenol
- Ritalin (\$15.00/pill)
- Tussionex
- Valium (\$2.00/pill)
- Percodan

I5. Work-Related Costs

When the women were asked to give us a break-down of their work-related costs, they easily listed the categories of items that make up their budget, but none were either willing or able to place accurate monetary figures on most of the items. The following items were noted with only some costs that the women were willing to approximate.

TABLE 47: BUDGET ITEMS

- Safes (the most frequently mentioned item) - \$6.00/dozen
- Rented motel/hotel rooms - \$15.00-\$40.00/night
- Cosmetics
- Shoes ("You go through a lot".)
- Clothes
- Lots of soap
- Laundry (especially towels)
- Babysitting
- Drugs (including booze) - from \$10/day to \$200/day

Management share (minimal of \$150.00 per night on a quota system).
Added to these were the standard items of food and shelter.

One might 'guesstimate' a hypothetical budget for a woman with a child, to be anywhere up to \$700 a week for expenses plus \$900.00 for the 'quota' payment. To gain this amount of cash, a woman would have to work six nights a week, averaging twenty tricks in a week, at an average of \$80.00 per trick.

One woman noted that she saves on her expenses by shoplifting condoms, and comments from other women suggested that although they themselves did not admit to shoplifting, they assumed that other prostitutes obtained a lot of their clothing in this manner.

Income tax is not an expense for prostitutes. Of all our respondents only two said they paid income tax, declaring themselves as self-employed, at minimum wages, for a regular working week. Although the majority did not presently contribute to any government programs, four respondents noted that they would not mind paying taxes.

"We make a fair amount of money, and most of us wouldn't mind putting some of it back into the country."

When asked about work-related costs, the respondents generally interpreted the question to refer to specific budget items that had to be paid for every month. But one respondent thought in terms of the long-run costs of being a prostitute.

"The more you make, the more you throw away. The first few years are your best, and those you lose--can't tell the girls that their money is going to drop when they're making \$300-\$500 a night. It only lasts so long. . . .It's unfortunate because you can't invest or bank. The way the system is set up for the girls, you can't invest or bank, the government is knocking at your door. . . .I don't think the government should be able to tax us. I'm selling a part of me--the government has no right to that . . ."

"Why do we turn so much away from the straight life? Because we're not even considered part of society. For example, to rent a place, you need to put down your occupation. You can't get a bank loan, buy a car. . . . You need to come up with stories. So you live in a world that is strictly cash. . . . When you leave the business, you have to start at the bottom again. People ask what you've been doing the last five years. Society is what shapes how girls get out of the business. The minute you try to do anything like open a business with money, the government is down your back. You

have to fight the whole world. You try to make it back into the system, get fired, and then people ask, 'Why didn't you make it'."

J. RELATIONS WITH MANAGERS

"For anyone to survive out there, you pretty well have to have people or at least be able to make others believe that you have people. If girls don't have people they get kicked off the street pretty fast or else they start working for someone. The girls out there do this themselves too, especially if they're some player's main lady."

To document the variety and nuances of the relationships between women who sell sexual services on the street, and the people (usually male) who in some way are involved in the running of their lives, would requires a study devoted to that topic alone. It became apparent that the kinds of straightforward factual questions we were asking really told us little of the world of men who gain money from the sexual activity of the women.

J1. "Self Employment"

We asked the women "Are you (or were you) self-employed?" Thirteen answered Yes. Thirteen answered No, and the rest gave no response, refusing to answer. The number who claimed to be self-employed contradicted data provided through police eyes, social service agents, and women talking about all the other women except themselves. From further probing during the interview, came some descriptions of what self-employment meant. In almost all cases, the women were experienced, had been around the street in the city for some time, and considered themselves to be 'known' (meaning known by other women as well as by the managers). Invariably, they had at one time paid money to a manager, and often as much as 100%. But as their experience grew and they resented giving away all their earnings, they slowly withdrew their commitments, and at the point of study, were likely only paying to use someone's name (\$50.00 per night) or were giving everyone the impression that they were still paying a quota to someone regularly.

". . . Most of the women on the street are working for people. Some pay just to use a guy's name. I'd say that about half the girls out there are working for someone, another quarter are probably working to support their man. At most, the other quarter out there are working for themselves or just paying something to use someone's name."

"Our relationship sort of broke down and I was able to leave him without too much hassle. Guess I was lucky because usually it's not very easy to leave your pimp. By that time I knew quite a few people on the street and was able to work independently because through my friends, I have been able to make people believe that I have people. Like I know some guys that will let me use their name if anyone tries to lean on me but I don't pay anything to anyone anymore. Don't know how much longer I will be able to keep it up though. One of these days, it's going to get out that I'm really not working for anyone and then I'll be in trouble."

The women gave the impression that their 'self-employment' status was earned through experience and toughness, but could also be very tenuous as conditions on the street changed, and they might have to 'fight' to retain their freedom from managers.

"How you survive the occupation depends on how you're taught or 'turned out'. I know girls that have been working eight or nine years and still have a man they're paying. You don't have to pay a man. Stand your ground and fight for it. Fight against other girls and players. A lot of girls don't want to deal with the fighting and tricks as well. This occupation drives many girls crazy."

"I am working as an independent but there are not many girls out there that are working on their own. It's all right for me to work as an independent now because I am known on the street and others know that I used to have people. You have to be established to be able to work out there as an independent - you can't just walk out there. The girls that I don't know out there think that I have people behind me - otherwise they would be trying to get me to work for their people. To remain independent, you just can't have anything to do with pimps at all or they start to hassle you."

These women were not drug users, and so could not be threatened with having their drug supply cut off, as was true with younger women who had become addicted through pimps.

"The pimps are into drugs. They get girls hooked on drugs so that they have to rely on him - once she's a heroin addict, money is not so important. She'll turn over everything because he'll be holding out on a fix."

These were women who did not participate extensively in the social life with other women, or the managers, keeping as far away as possible from street life in general.

Some were living alone or with their children, or with one other woman, often a relative, and were clearly capable of managing all their own personal affairs. This group of women appeared to provide the stability and continuity to the street as a marketplace, and basically the managers would threaten the business of the whole area if they pushed these more professional women too hard. (It became apparent through other answers that some of the women who claimed to be self-employed, were on a quota system to some manager, but did not consider that anything more than a licensing fee. They cashed in through the manager's main lady, having as little as possible to do with the male, and were not dictated to entirely by the male in relation to location, or hours of work. These women spoke very harshly about the managers, and looked down upon the women who lived with, or socialized with the male managers.)

There were a few unique cases of self-employment status. One woman cashed in to no one because she was a member of one of the families whose male members played a central role in controlling many of the other women. She had access to a 'name' for free.

Three women who claimed 'self-employment' were turned out by, and were living with, and sharing money with, a boyfriend or common-law husband at the time. There were no other women involved with their males.

"My old man threatens me when he finds out I've been hanging around the other women. He likes me to be by myself."

Women linked to a male who in turn was linked only to them, and women who saw themselves as independent, expressed a mixture of sympathy (for the young girls) and disdain (for the older women) who were clearly part of a multiple-woman 'stable'.

"Many of the girls are weak in different ways. Women with players are weak. They say this is my man and you deal with him."

"For many of the prostitutes, the whole world is 'this man, and making money'. They don't want to think about the future. They're crazy."

"I'd like to see the laws get the pimps. They have women working for them who are seven months pregnant. Pimps keep them out there, as long as they can. During the early months, pregnant women make good money. Tricks feel sorry for them and give them more money for cribs and such things. Lots of guys like pregnant women, too."

"At first I paid everything to a pimp. Then I got smart and started holding out at least one trick for myself. At the end, I held it all back for myself."

"It would take away a lot of the problems of prostitution if you took away pimps. I used to tell the other girls that they were crazy to have a pimp because it was self-defeating since they go through all that just to give it to someone else. For some girls, it fills some sort of void--maybe this stems from their backgrounds (eg. weak father figure) and they find confidence in such a relationship. Unfortunately, they don't know the difference between the real thing and being used."

J2. Under Management

Eleven of the thirteen women who claimed to be employed by someone identified their 'employers' as males, and two as females. Those willing to identify the ethnicity of their managers identified seven as of native ancestry, and six as of non-native ancestry. The native managers identified were all in the province of Saskatchewan. From other comments during interviews, it became clear that the women perceived clear divisions between the managers based on ethnicity. In one city, there was said to be really no collaboration to speak of between black managers and native managers. In another city, there was structured collaboration, but the women witnessed rivalry among groups they identified ethnically.

"I'd say that 90% of the guys that are controlling the girls out there are niggers. Don't know of any natives. Rest of the guys are Lebanese and White. Most of the Blacks come from Vancouver and Edmonton, the Niggers, Lebs' and Whites don't get along too good. On _____ Street, one side of the street is controlled by Niggers and the other side by Whites."

Describing the same city:

"Most of the pimps in _____ are Black and Lebanese. The number of white pimps around is minimal. As long as I've been working here, I've only known three. One of them was a guy in Vancouver, another one had Italian backing. There are one or two Chinese pimps around but they're connected to the Chinese mafia. . . .There is a fair amount of competition between pimps. The Blacks don't like the Lebs' and the Lebs' don't like the Blacks. There is also a lot of fighting within each bunch."

Eight of the women who claimed to be 'cashing' in to someone admitted that the men they worked for employed others as well. The numbers of other women in the group ranged from two others to seven others. One of the women suggested that when money is tighter, some of the managers recruit more women. But this in turn decreases the number of customers that any one woman can obtain.

"Players are looking for more money as the money gets tighter. They put more women on the streets. But they're actually hurting themselves because of more competition."

Another woman suggested that in the good days (implying several years ago) a pimp could have seven or eight women. Now the average is two to three.

Two of the 'managed' respondents said their manager had no other women, and three women did not know.

Many respondents were not willing to tell how much if any of their earnings, were paid to someone else. The thirteen who claimed 'self-employment' specified that they paid no one. Of those who claimed to have been employed by someone, seven said they pay 100% to the manager. Three women said they worked by quota (two at \$150/night, and one at \$120/night). One said 50%, one said 40% and one said 20%. The '100% women' are provided with room and board (not necessarily with the pimp, who usually stays only with his 'main lady'). Drugs, condoms and clothing are usually paid for by the pimp. Petty cash is given back to the women for small personal items.

Two respondents mentioned that some women can pay for the use of a name only at \$50 per night, but we had no respondents who actually claimed to have had that arrangement as a permanent one for themselves. One woman described it as the kind of arrangement you make when you travel to another Prairie city, and want to turn a few tricks while you are there.

J3. Differences Among Cities

As noted earlier, we did not achieve a complete picture of managers and the little we obtained came through unstructured comments, observations, and questions related to something else. But some differences from one city to the next seemed to be real, at least in the perception of the women. The stories are as follows:

In Regina, the managers were said to be all of native ancestry, with the streets controlled almost totally by approximately four families (brothers, cousins, fathers, uncles, etc.). These men managed women of both native and non-native ancestry, and there appeared to be rivalry among the families. Members of each family had criminal records, and some of them were in prison at the time of the study. Training for management came early, and at the time of the study, there was said to be a fifteen year old male with several women. The families tended to recruit very young females, and to manage their own girlfriends, and common-law wives as their main ladies. They would not take money from their sisters. Violence between women and managers was expected and frequent although not extreme except in cases of women's deaths. But lickings were said to be common. Alcohol and 'smoke' were commonly used among Regina managers.

In Saskatoon, somewhat of a similar situation existed, with two to three native families controlling the major street prostitution. But here we became aware of a couple of managers from Calgary and Edmonton, one Black, and one Caucasian, who would come into town regularly to reinforce their names. The more independent women tended to work in the bars rather than on the streets, with the exception of two to three hotel bars where the business was controlled by the families. Again, there was rivalry among the families, but clear working agreements existed, however tenuous. Women from Regina who had connections to the Saskatoon families could work in Saskatoon, and vice versa.

Saskatoon had the reputation at least, of being a less violent city altogether, and a good place for a woman to start, since "everyone follows the rules. The women are less violent with each other, and so are the police and the old men." The central members of the families that dominated the streets were perceived by the women as closer to the stereotyped pimp, who works for the money, i.e. he does in fact provide protection and support and status for his women and he is likely to be involved in numerous criminal activities which bring in money as well.

The managers were referred to commonly as 'my old man' and were frequently considered to be the boyfriend or common-law husband. At least two women were hooking with their boyfriends knowledge but not blessing.

The managers in Winnipeg were said to be predominantly black. There was less consensus among the respondents from Winnipeg about how many

managers there were, and how many independent women there were. Speculations about number of managers ranged from about four or five powerful ones who controlled the more lucrative prostitution zone, to over twenty, and our data could not be used to determine the right answer.

Respondents thought that some of the managers were actively involved in dealing in drugs, (not just purchasing for personal use.). At one point in history, the rumour was around that one of the major bicycle clubs in the city was going to attempt a 'takeover' on the street, and one women said she had been recruited by the club, but had refused. At the time of the study, there may have been some 'bikers' whose girlfriends were hooking, but bikers were not seen to be the main managers.

The women gave the impression that they were business oriented, and so were their managers. Violence towards the women was not frequent, but when it occurred, it could be serious. And it usually related to a woman wanting to leave a pimp with a large operation.

"When I was involved with the pimp, I couldn't see my boyfriend. (My boyfriend told me to get off the street. I'm expecting his child.) My pimp expected sexual favours from me. He forced me to provide them. He was twenty, 1/2 white -1/2 black. He had four women working for him. His 'main lady' was ninety and was the main money earner. I was his 'second lady' and referred to the main lady as my 'sister-in-law'. I met him at a 'booze can' (after-hours club). He started talking to me. I didn't realize what he was. I said to myself "I might need protection on the street." He always left me money for a cab in case I had to go get him. He was usually where all the pimps hang out. We have him all our money. After I left him, him and his main lady followed me home from downtown one day and threatened me."

The managers were said to relate more regularly to some of the businesses in the area, in order to maintain some equilibrium and reduce the friction created by the presence of the women outside some of the more popular night spots in the city. The relationship was one of a combination of threatening and negotiating posture. One businessman tells of an instance in which he was about to open a new operation, and did not want the women standing right outside his door.

"Word gets out fast, so they knew I was opening there long before anything was happening. They move onto a corner when they know it will become good, so they can stake a claim; you know. Well, there were

two of them on the corner and I went out and told them to get lost. They told me I'd be hearing from someone. I didn't wait. You can't let them think they can do what they want. So I phoned him, and invited him to my place (a business establishment in the zone). He came. We talked. You know, he threatened me, I threatened him. . . Finally we agreed. He would get two women on the corner, only his prettiest ones. I wouldn't hassle them. He'd keep all the other women off. We have to do deals."

The managers in Winnipeg also organize regular pick-up runs to that the women don't stand on the corner long with any amount of cash.

"Some pimps will collect every night. They either come down to the street or arrange to meet their girls after work, i.e., in a lounge or after-hours clubs. If they need money before the regular collection, they may just come down to where the girl is and pick it up."

A large car cruises around and stops at each appropriate corner, the women get in, it circles once, and they get out again, their money cashed in.

In Winnipeg during the summer, American managers are said to bring women up from the U.S. for the convention business in Winnipeg, but they rarely enter the regular zone, choosing instead to frequent the hotels close to the major convention centre.

We assumed that the managers do collaborate in relationship to territory, and maintaining a certain degree of order on the streets, but we heard of no systematic or regularized meetings nor of a highly structured organization.

Calgary

In Calgary more than in the other cities, the concept of the GAME and the PLAYERS became apparent. Some of the managers were commonly referred to as players, men who are playing the game, and making and following all the rules. The players are managers who do nothing but run women, who have no other source of money.

Several informants stated that the men were not true pimps, because a real pimp provides the women with protection. "They're just players, playing in the game. All they do is take the women's money. A true pimp goes out and works just as much for the money as you do." The players were seen to be the heavy drug users; "They have nothing to do so they can afford to be stoned all the time."

"Most of the money 'that girls make' for their man goes to cocaine and to flashy items for him. The girl will get enough money to pay for a hotel room and food. Not much more. If they live with the guy, they are usually paying for everything for the both of them."

Players made money from their own women, from women attached to other males, and from women attempting to be independent.

"You have to learn but by the time you do, you've wasted a lot of money. Players are right there to snap new girls up. They find out if a girl is with someone else. If not, they'll bump you, i.e., come up and say you're working for him. The girl is naive and intimidated."

The women assumed that the players were predominantly black, and so one of the rules of the game was to never go with a black trick, (as it may be a player). The players attempted to 'put a charge' on a woman, parallel to a fine for an offence. As one respondent explained;

"You never talk to a black and you never go with a black date. Just talking to or dancing with a black can result in the guy putting a charge on you and if they put a charge on you it takes forever to pay it off because they usually take all of your money."

A charge can cost \$1500 to \$2000.

If a woman wants to leave the business, or transfer to a more desirable manager, she may be charged a fee as well, called a leaving fee, usually in the amount of \$1500. If she is changing managers, her new people will pay the fee, and she will then owe them until she pays it off.

"Girls do change their pimps. Maybe if they have been beaten one too many times they will consider going to work for someone else. If you want to change pimps, you have to talk to some of the other girls. Pimps often have their women recruiting other women for them. If you talk to one of these women then they will ask their man if he wants to take you on. If he says yes, then you just start working for him. If there is any hassle about it, it will generally take place between the men. They don't usually come down on the girls if she has already moved to another pimp."

Some of the women working in Calgary made the distinction between players and pimps, referring to the latter as the 'hardnosed ones'.

"Women are offended if they call their man pimp. They know it's wrong so they say, 'My man is not a pimp, he's a player'. 'Pimp' is used when you're talking about hardnosed ones who are definitely pimping, with five or six women, and after money and that's it. These guys say, 'work so many hours, make this much more' They take all your earnings. The girl gets back what the pimp thinks she's worth--depends on how much money she makes. If she's not a good money-maker she gets fewer shoes, fewer clothes, fewer nice things."

"A real pimp will 'scope' you to see how solid you are. One of the older girls will watch for awhile to make sure that you are okay."

"The pimp chooses the corner, tells you where you can work, where you can't. It's determined by what territory he controls."

The women in Calgary informed the researchers that there was one man who regularly procured women from Saskatchewan, and would bring them to Calgary, in turn 'selling' them to a local pimp. He would get between \$500 and \$1500 for a woman, with higher money being paid for younger women. The operation involved his travelling to Saskatoon or Regina, finding an available young woman in a bar, giving her a line about the lure of the big city, promising her bigger and faster parties, and more money than she could imagine. She would arrive with him in Calgary, and at a bar or after-hours operations, she would be skillfully manipulated. Either she would end up with a 'charge' against her of \$1500 which she would have to work to pay off to some pimp, or be threatened with violence. Or she would be made to believe that her new 'boyfriend' had a 'charge' against his life, for which he had no money, and she would be persuaded to turn tricks to save him. Once on the street, her 'boyfriend' (the procurer) would disappear from her life, and she would be part of a regular stable.

The players in Calgary meet regularly, and have a structured organization. They act more similar to a Board of Directors than the managers in the other cities studied. They appear to have explicit rules (and set fees) for every contingency.

The impressions gained from observation in after-hours clubs and from informal conversations with the women were that in general, the Calgary managers were held in much greater disdain than the managers in either Winnipeg or Saskatoon.

J4. The Violence

No matter what city you are in, the world of hooker and manager is one of violence, either directly felt, or in the general context. The more experienced managers know they cannot rule by violence alone, and combine physical threats with emotional threats and, sexual services, gifts, and status. But many women experience violence. They tell it best in their own words.

"He threatened me all the time when I didn't bring home enough money. Never told me what enough was. Broke my nose three times for not bringing in enough money. He liked me to bring home at least the money for three tricks. I always did but sometimes it wasn't enough though."

"He beat me twice because I wouldn't hit the streets and work. When he beat me, I got out and hustled my ass. I left after the second beating."

"After I left him, him and his main lady followed me home from downtown one day and threatened me . . .

"He slapped her once. Said if she did not bring in enough money, he'd kick her out. Threatened to kill her if she left."

It appears that violence is used more often by men with habits that need large sums of money to maintain. The more obvious one would be addiction to heroin, but other forms of habit produce desperation for money. The women mentioned cocaine, alcohol, flashy cars and flashy clothes. If the women did not earn enough to keep their managers appropriately attired and housed, they would be beaten. They would also be beaten for behavior which might reduce their ability to earn money.

"Some of the pimps are also pretty bad right now. Girls do get beaten regularly, i.e., beaten for not making enough money, for holding back on money, or for drinking while working."

"Some women do 'hold money' back but if the pimp finds out, he will beat the shit out of her. If he doesn't, the other girls that are working for him will because if one girl is holding back then the other girls have to work harder to make the money, right? A lot of what happens in relation to the money depends on the individual relationship between the hooker and the pimp."

"Some girls like to be beaten by their man. Don't want their man to be thought of as a faggot, or afraid he doesn't care--a good pimp should be pushing you. Especially the American women that come up here. They feel if they aren't getting beaten, their men don't care for them. "

"Most times, pimps will not beat up their women too much because bruises are not good for the work. But American pimps are hardnosed, and they don't care if their women have bruises."

"American pimps are rough. They'll cut you up. We could phone Immigration and get them out but no one bothers."

Women who are attached to the players that are considered to be hard nosed, or who have 'big habits' are seen to be forced to take more chances on the street with doubtful tricks, because if they don't make enough money, they then risk physical violence from their manager.

"If they're hungry, want money or have big habits, they'll keep the girls around. I had one friend who worked for years. She was stoned once so her pimp stripped her down and took a whip to her. Now she's gay."

"The pimp I worked for had spent forty years in the pen for killing an RCMP officer and wounding another (left him paralyzed). He was part of an organized white syndicate who killed people and allowed the remains to be eaten by doberman pinchers. He was murdered in the '70s."

K. RELATIONS WITH CUSTOMERS

K1. Methods of Contact

Although the overwhelming majority of women interviewed contacted the majority of their customers on the public street, six of them had given out their home phone numbers to 'trusted' clients, and five occasionally picked up customers from a seat in a hotel bar. One woman carried a pager connecting her to her answering service (for regulars). One woman also stripped and picked up supplementary customers. Customers were directed to the zone by friends, newspaper accounts about the area, police, cab drivers, and bartenders, and a variety of hotel employees (usually bellmen and security men).

If in a car, the customer would drive slowly through the zone with the window rolled down, circling usually more than once if he did not already know for whom he was looking. If the competition was heavy, as it was seen to be in one city during the study, the women would actually wave at the cars, and step out into the street to stop cars and talk to the drivers.

"Before, guys used to call the women to them. Now, prostitutes have to call to the guys. We have to be aggressive and persuasive. You can't afford to let him go because someone else will go with them."

If business was good, the women would stand passively until a car stopped in front of them.

Potential customers on foot would be met first with eye contact, and if they responded by staring, they would be approached. The women would approach a group of males walking together, but would not approach males accompanied by females.

The language of approach was one of the few things that showed little variety throughout the study. If the woman spoke first, she would ask some variation of, "Do you want to go out?" or in fewer circumstances, "Looking for company?" or "Do you want to party?" The man would respond, "Sure. How much?" The woman would reply, "How much do you want to spend tonight?" and so it would go from there.

If the male initiated the interaction, he would usually ask the women, "Are you working?" and the woman would reply, "Do you want to go out?" The women preferred to have the male set the price first, since it gave her some indication of what he might pay. She would also ask him what he wanted to do on the date, and finally tell him her limits (time and minimum price).

Some of the respondents had very blunt and business-like approaches.

"I do my job and they have to do theirs."

"I'm usually straightforward with my tricks. If they're really drunk, I'll tell them no because it takes too long."

Others developed styles they thought appeared more human, more personal (and more likely to produce more success), adapting their style to each potential customer.

"I use a different approach with each guy. Try to appear very personal. Try to make it sound like I'm really talking to him. Ask how he's doing and then get around to the fact I'm working."

All of the respondents had been refused at some point, by a customer. When asked what their response to a refusal was, 100% said that they would give up. When asked how potential customers usually refused, of the women who answered the question (seven), five said the refuser was always polite. They were said to use phrases such as, "No, I'm married," "Just shopping," "No thanks, I have no money" and so on. Two women had experienced the frustration of sightseers taking up the space of potential customers, and related that if a person was cruising the zone, but refused when approached, they would be told to get serious or get out.

"If a potential client refuses, "we tell them to get the hell home if they don't want to take anyone out".

The women were all aware of the nature of the law against soliciting, and had not developed any persistent styles of approach at the time of the study. They did make it apparent, however, that harassment of potential customers would be produced by high levels of competition.

The near-perfect relationship with a customer from most women's point of view would include:

- being paid the asking price
- non-violent physical treatment
- decent verbal treatment
- predictability (i.e., keeping his part of the negotiated contract)
- access to a method of 'exiting' if needed.

To achieve all these things required experience, and the subsequent street knowledge which followed. It also, according to the regular sellers, required a clear head at all times.

K2. Payments and Ripoffs

Since the major 'reward' for the woman from the transaction is the money, getting it takes high priority. The women all said that they collect the money up front (before anything is done) when asked directly, "When does your customer pay you?". But other comments indicated that although this was the rule, the women would occasionally negotiate afterwards for a higher price than the usual, because the customer was assessed as being able to pay more. Collecting up-front does not mean before the woman gets into the car, but after entering the vehicle and before any sexual service is provided. "Tricks try to rip you off. If he thinks he can do it, he will." If a customer has driven off with the woman, has relocated for the purpose of receiving the service, and then refuses to pay the requested amount, or anything at all, the woman's response depends on what resources she has available. If the car is still in the zone, she may jump out and

scream for a pimp, or other women, and the customer may be beaten up on the spot.

"One day a customer on the street pulled a knife on me. I screamed and the rest of the girls came running. We beat the shit out of the guy."

(From a pimp) "I used to be on the street watching. _____, my main lady, had picked up a guy and gone to a parking lot. He had refused to pay, and he had gotten out of the car. He came after her with a broken liquor bottle, and she was screaming. I heard, and came after him. He was bigger than me, but they had to call the cops. It took two of them to get me off him. I hurt him bad." (No charges were laid.)

Some women carry a knife (this seemed to be the custom in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Regina, but was unusual in Calgary) and will both threaten and use it against customers recalcitrant about payment, or who make demands to which they had not originally agreed.

"One time a trick didn't pay. I showed him the knife and took his whole wallet."

"One trick wanted his money back after I'd already performed. He put his hands around my neck so I pulled my knife out."

"I pulled a knife on a customer once because he said he's slap me around if I didn't do what he wanted."

"I'll rip a guy off 'cause he's cheap. You can jump into a car, make a deal, get the money, jump out of the car, and run into a hotel. Later, you go back out. Most never come back. One came back but I just ignored him."

Several women felt that their 'rich' customers (as determined by their driving Lincolns and Cadillacs) were the cheapest customers.

"They really give you a hard time. They got all that money, but want to put \$30 on a human being. They got an attitude like they're doing you a favor. I had one guy hold my hand, and say, "now you can go out and buy groceries."

"The rich men are bitter. Their wives are bitches. 'She wants a sable for Christmas and she won't do anything (sexual) anymore.' Straight women have got

their husbands by the balls. So they want to cheapen a woman, and they come down here and try to do it to us."

"Businessmen are the worst. Ignorant. They think they're God's gift to the world. They're cheap. They really expect the most for their money. If you get two of them together, they try to outdo each other in ignorance."

At least on the street there is some sentiment that men from working class backgrounds (referred to as "average Joes" are the best spenders, partly because they pay the asking price without attempted rip-offs, and partly because " . . . they see us as human and realize that our time is worth money."

In rare instances, ripping off customers was the main activity.

"I would take the guys that were too drunk, and roll them. I'd push them down and take their money and take off."

But this would not be allowed to go on for long by the other women, since it undermined the reputation of the street (or the particular corner) as a whole. One respondent when she first started selling on the street, she could not bring herself to become involved with the man. (She was twelve.) Consequently, she was on the street for about one week, during which she received money from each trick, but never once delivered. Her reputation spread rapidly and customers simply stopped coming. A second respondent noted that occasionally, she would go with friends to 'roll' a customer, mostly for fun.

In general, Saskatoon was perceived to be the city where the least number of 'undeserved' customer rip-offs occurred. Ripped-off customers rarely report their loss to the police, even in the case of large sums of money.

Only two main circumstances arose in which women noted that payment to them might be in non-cash items. One would involve their trading their sexual services for professional services for themselves, such as from lawyers, doctors, and dentists. This was noted in three cases. The other situation would involve the receipt of gifts (supplementing cash) from regulars, and more likely from marks. Jewellery was the most common item mentioned. The respondents did refer to women who would take room and board for the night, or a case of beer, or a drug fix of some kind in exchange for sexual services, but none admitted to ever having done that themselves, and the implication was that these were 'deperate' women, usually older, or very young runaways just starting out. Cash was the rule.

K3. Abuse/Violence: Types and Responses

As noted elsewhere, two major disadvantages of the occupation were verbal and physical abuse. Customers were one major source of both.

Like the majority of human beings, women who sell sex do not like to be degraded. None of the respondents were willing to participate in a sexual activity that involved their verbal degradation. When a customer was verbally abusive, the response ranged from refusal to do business with him, to violence.

"I screened people--if I thought they were even the least bit of trouble, I would not go. I had a built-in radar system--could tell they were trouble by their dress, way of asking, etc.. If they were discreet, I'd go, but if asked in way such as, "Let's go somewhere and fuck," I knew they had no regard for another person and would not go."

Eight women specifically mentioned that some customers seem to like to call them names, mentioning such words as TRAMP, DIRT, SLUT, WHORE, and combinations of these.

"One called me a 'slut' and told me I wasn't worth the money."

"I used my knife once when I was called a 'whore'. I don't know if the guy lived."

Some women are willing to act as though they are enjoying the sexual encounter, "some of the women fake it to turn the men on".

"(It takes) about five to ten minutes for actual sex. If it takes any longer than this, I start to get sore. But I will stay with them as long as an hour if they want to talk. Especially if it isn't a very busy night. I think that I am an exception though--most of the girls don't want to spend any more time with a date than absolutely necessary. With this one guy, I was moving around while he was on top of me and he asked me why I was doing that. I just told him that I always did and he said that the last girl he had been with had just laid there and watched T.V. all the time."

But, several women implied that being expected to act as a regular lover might be expected to act, was in itself, abusive.

"The hardest part is that they want you to act like you like them when you are doing whatever it is they

want. They like to call you names like 'a cocksucker' or 'whore' because it makes them feel better than you."

Our data did not allow us to determine what proportion of customers would be classified as verbally abusive, but every respondent indicated that either she herself had experienced unwanted verbal abuse, or felt at least that it was commonly experienced on the street.

Physical violence carried out by customers against the women was discussed as a common characteristic of the occupation. As noted elsewhere, the women with some street experience develop some intuitively based syndrome of traits which they use as an indicator of potential violence in a customer, and refuse to sell to the person. But their intuition is not enough to protect them. The respondents we talked to, or a very close friend of theirs, had been forcibly detained, raped, beaten with fists, beaten with weapons of various kinds, cut with knives, burned, sprayed with cold water, robbed at gunpoint, and had attempts made to break arms and legs, run them over on the street, hang them with a rope, kill them with a hatchet, and so on.

The respondents specifically identified what to their minds were three unique 'sources' of violence. One was the violence of crazy men.

"A crazy is out for blood. Money is not the problem. He'll just go for your throat." "One in a while you get a real loony one (customer). There's more violence between tricks and hookers than pimps and hookers."

"There was a 'pervert' in _____ that was going around and beating the prostitutes. He picked up one of my friends and beat the hell out of her. Another time, when my friend was working again but quite stoned, he picked her up using a disguise, took her out and bit off her nipples and all around her . . . you know . . . (genitals)."

"I was picked up once by a guy who was out to rape. He had a bad vibe but I went with him anyway. He had a mask and rope in the car. I got out fast."

"He slapped me around and ripped my clothes off when I got to his room. He tried to choke me. The guy was a real bag case."

"I have one friend who was beat up twice. One friend was shot at. One was sprayed with cold water. Another was hit with a pipe. It's crazy out there."

Another source was customer dissatisfaction, either with them, or with a previous encounter with a prostitute. Violence was the outcome in some cases where the customer had been previously ripped-off, where the customer was unhappy with the service provided, where the customer wanted more time for his money which he had already paid, or where the customer wanted a service not originally purchased.

"One guy that I couldn't get off, was just when he was leaving. He came back and bit my panties off and knocked me around a bit. I finally got him off and gave him his money back. He left. Guess I was lucky."

"He slapped me around because I didn't do what they wanted." (Anal sex.)

"I had a guy pull a knife on me and ask for his money back. He said the last hooker had rolled him. Now this was only fair."

"One guy picked me up one night and took me to Park for a blow job. When we got there, he implied that he wasn't goin' to pay and was goin' to take what he wanted. I grabbed his truck keys and jumped out and ran. He caught me by the hair and slapped me around. I threw the keys as far as I could and ran. I'm still here."

"I had a man slap me around because he wanted more time."

"You get a lot of threats from dates who didn't get off in time. They threaten me with beatings a lot because of my size."

"I've been slapped around by a customer--nothing serious. You get some kind of hassle at least once a month. It's part of the trade."

"You get beat up and it's nothing--it's a 'bad date'."

"One girl was beat up bad. The guy was too big. She said she would provide a blow job but not a fuck. So he beat her up. She needed stitches."

"I have a scar on my back where a customer cut me with a knife. I started carrying a knife after I was knifed by the trick."

"I was held up by a fellow with a gun. I said I had to go to the bathroom and just ran into the bush. I ran about two miles back to the city."

"One guy pulled out a hatchet and threatened me. He wanted a straight lay for free. I gave it to him."

"I've had two attacks on my life. One guy attempted to break my arm, and run me over. He was never caught. The first time, I debated reporting--waited three days. This guy was a crazy. I had no concern for me but that he's going to hurt someone. I finally reported to two police officers I knew. Vice said, "Well, she's out there, whatever she gets, she deserves." The two officers pushed it, though--got a police artist to draw the guy--his picture is still on the wall of the police station. Three witnesses got the plate. They told me the guy left town. I've seen him twice. On the way home, one cop asked me if he could come up for a drink or a freebie. It's a big joke to them. The first guy was a real whacko--quiet, timid, easy-going. The second guy tried to strangle me. I never reported it. He was just a goof. I threw him half way across the room. He had said, "You don't come with me like Diane does." (Some of the women fake it to turn the men on.) I made him take me back downtown at knife-point. You find out they (the police) don't really give a damn. They've been laughing at you.

The third source of violence which the women distinguished from craziness and customer dissatisfaction, was in the context of 'kinky' sex (which they did not necessarily equate with craziness). The few women who were willing to sell unusual sexual services were also very alert to the possibility that some of those contexts could evolve into violence against themselves instead of against the customer. There was the added danger that often this form of sexual service was performed in the customer's home, a location which was normally considered off-limits.

"You don't usually do office or house calls. When tricks are on their own territory, they become assholes. They are relaxed and comfortable. . . . They also know where the kitchen knives are."

"Some like domination. The like to be told what to do. Tired of being the MAN and always having to make the decisions. One guy wanted tacks in his chest, another liked to be ridden around like a

horse. Another guy lay half way under his kitchen table while I stood on him in high heels reading a newspaper. But if they're into pain or dominance themselves, you have to be alert, watch for aggression. You're not sure at what point it becomes too much, and they can turn on you. One guy punched me and wanted me to punch him back. If I had, he'd have beaten me up real bad."

Clearly, violence required some response. The women, throughout the interview, made it quite clear, even in the cases of those working for males who offered relatively active protection, that they themselves, and their colleagues on the street, were their front-line resource for protection against physical violence. The responses to violence (or potential violence) included the following:

1. Think fast, run fast, and fight hard.

"You have to understand the kinds of minds you're dealing with so you can react quickly or properly. This is why I don't know how you work when you're drunk or stoned because you need your wits about you."

"You learn to run really fast. I've had situations where I've had to fight my way out."

2. Depend on other women (ask their advice on a doubtful trick, let them know where you are going, have them record a licence plate number).

"If a girl is not sure whether a guy is a bad trick, she'll ask another girl to come over and check. If sense aggressions, then know danger."

"We work together. I always take a trick's licence number."

3. Follow a list of DON'Ts.:

- Don't go in a van.
- Don't go with more than one trick alone.
- Don't go with someone who has a visible weapon.
- Don't go to his place.
- Don't give any factual information about yourself.

4. Compensate yourself for potential danger.

If you are facing likely danger, and you need the money, at least quote a much higher price, and collect before you leave the area, leaving the money with someone else. The price might also deter the customer, and remove the decision from your arena.

"If you do go with someone you're uncertain about, quote higher and make them pay before you leave the area."

"You have to be like businessmen--if you sense he's an asshole, you have to decide how much you want the money. If you have to take a risk, get the money for it."

5. Carry a Weapon

As noted elsewhere, many women carry knives; others carry a can of mace, one was noted to carry a gun, while others use regular items as potential weapons. Car keys, a roll of coins, and a toothbrush with a razor blade were mentioned in this latter category.

6. Acquiesce to the Demand

Several women were asked to provide sexual services for free once they were driven away from the zone itself, and the demand was backed up by serious threats. In the case where no immediate escape presented itself, clearly they provided the service, and felt themselves lucky to be alive.

7. Ask the Police

In relation to sexual abuse and physical abuse, the women were asked whether or not they reported these happenings to the police. Since few of women were willing to respond to these questions about incidences of such abuse, when asked directly, it is not possible to generalize from the few answers obtained. However, from the section on abuse by customers, it is clear that many of the women had experienced some form of physical/sexual attack. Yet only two respondents admitted to having reported such attacks formally to police. In one case, the offender was found guilty and given a two-year prison term. In the other case, the offender was never found.

The women were also asked whether they had ever asked the police for protection or help in relation to their work, with the following results.

TABLE 48: SEEKING POLICE HELP

<u>Have you ever asked police for protection or help?</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Yes	6
No	16
No response	2
Not asked	<u>12</u>
Total	36

From this question alone, it would appear that reporting to the police is not considered a valid/useful response to violence. Yet, from further conversation with the women, and from observation, it became apparent that in practice, and in their perception, the women differentiate between formal and informal police protection. Formal reporting of incidences is very rare; if violence was considered serious (like sexual assault with a weapon) or if the violence was personal and involved a husband/partner rather than a customer, then police would be formally informed, with the goal of charges being laid.

The six cases who had formally (i.e., at the police station in writing) reported violence to the police had all involved either violence sexual assaults or attempted murders by tricks, or repetitive beatings by a common-law husband.

Informal reporting to the police, on the other hand, would be done on the street, with no expectation that the information would necessarily result in a charge, but simply assistance in patrolling the streets for a bad trick. In other words, the women would, on an as-needed basis, pull a street cruiser over and related the details of a violent incident, and the characteristics of the customer himself, so that the cruiser could watch for the individual on the street. The relations between hookers and police did differ from city to city. In one case particularly, consensus was that police were helpful in patrolling the street for dangerous tricks.

"... once when I was raped, and if someone is lurking around. Usually you just flag down cruisers as they drive by. Police are co-operative when requests are legitimate."

"There is nothing the police can do unless it is some weirdo out on the street hassling the girls."

"We always let the police know when there are bad tricks around, and they'll do the same for us."

"I know a lot of police. I went to them for help after a guy beat me up, and after another guy knicked me with his his knife. They ask how everything is going and if everything is safe. They watch out for me. I've never been harassed."

"I only ask the police for help when there are weirdos on the street. There was a van, and it was ripping off women, so I asked the cops for help."

On the other hand, in one of the other cities, there was general consensus that the police were not particularly sympathetic to hookers,

and therefore that formally reporting violent assaults to the police by customers would be a waste of time.

"The cops won't do anything of if they show up, they show up late."

"The cops won't help women who are hookers."

"Why bother, they won't do anything, anyway."

"Police think, 'You can't rape a whore, or if you are a whore, you asked for the beating. There's no point in going to the cops.'"

"I was raped one night by a guy on my way home. No point in reporting to the police. Nothing would happen to him."

"No. Police aren't there to help me. I'm a Metis. They don't help us."

"The incidents (slapped around twice by customers) weren't reported because prostitutes aren't taken seriously when they say they have been abused, either physically or emotionally."

"No point in reporting it (physical abuse) to the police when they slap you around, too."

"A lot of police think a working girl can't get raped."

K4. Money for Conversation

Not all customers ask only for sexual services. It was pointed out by the women that many men want to talk. They talk to the women predominantly about two topics: family members and economic problems. Certainly, this was a more commonly noted request coming from 'Regulars' and 'Marks', but strangers also occasionally make the request for conversation only.

"Regulars often talk about families. They tell us their problems. Usually they said they just wanted to give their wife a rest."

"Conversation was the Number One request. Lots of guys just wanted someone to talk to. I liked talking to them."

"One talked about his marriage--he was cheating on his wife and he felt so bad because they got along so good. He came

to me for a change. He was curious to see what the girls are really like."

"Some guys just want company just someone to talk to."

L. RELATIONS WITH OTHER PROSTITUTES

Throughout the interviews, several questions related to how the women who shared the street, related to each other. We talked to no one who knew of, or at least was able to identify the existence of any formal organization of street hookers in any of the Prairie cities, although at least one attempt had been made.

"When I first started, women were working. Now it's girls working. Very catty and bitchy. Very territorial. Less concerned with other girls. Cliques are predominant. The girls never stick together. I attempted two years ago to form a group. We kicked off all the players and the girls that weren't wanted. We were successful. Then they left me in charge of the street. I couldn't work and take care of the streets so I said, forget it, and the group fell apart."

In spite of this we did identify the existence of common rules and habits which were known to the regular workers, although, again, some variety existed in the way the rules were interpreted, valued, and adhered to through all three cities. The ways in which prostitutes related to each other depended to a great degree on the type of relationship the women had with the occupation itself. (See categories of prostitutes discussed elsewhere.)

L1. Social Imperatives

Some rules were considered strong enough imperatives on the street, that women who broke them consistently would definitely be approached by the other women, in some cities with verbal threats, followed by physical discipline, and in other cities, by immediate physical threats.

"(I would threaten the other workers) . . . only if they break the rules out there. Otherwise we don't bother each other--the girls get enough hassle from everyone else. They don't need to hassle each other."

NO UNDERCUTTING was one such imperative. As noted elsewhere, prices were quite closely fixed within a certain range, and to offer services much below the fixed price was not tolerated.

"The girls on the street don't tolerate undercutting. If someone is not charging enough the rest of us will let her know that it is not allowed. If she continues to undercut, we are prepared to rough her up a bit."

"If you're caught undercutting, you're approached and threatened to quit it. I tried it a couple of times. Girls came to me with knives. So I stopped. I had tried about \$5 or \$10 less."

"Because the street is dead right now, there is a fair amount of undercutting going on. If the other girls find out, they'll take care of the person doing the undercutting, verbally if they can--physically if they have to. You usually find out pretty fast and it may all be taken care of within two hours. It's hard now because some of them have to undercut just to make their quota."

"The other girls will threaten her if she is cutting prices. Sometimes the tricks are lying and they'll say the prices are cut and they aren't. But a girl will get beat up if she really is."

"The girls who hear of a broad turning tricks for booze or a bed, they'll go down, tell her to stay off the streets."

"I was told what to charge by the woman who turned me out. You could go higher but couldn't go lower. Better off to charge whatever everyone else was charging instead of going higher because business would be lost to other hookers. If lower, you'd be told about it."

A second imperative was TERRITORIALITY. Positions 'belonged' to specific women, and some were obviously better for attracting customers than others. The women, as a group, protected each other's locations.

"If you're undercutting or moving in on someone's territory, they (the other women) get violent."

"There are really shit disturbances between girls. The gossip is bad, wicked. They fight among themselves. Very territorial. The "owner" of a corner may not even be there and someone will tell a new girl not to stand there."

The managers in all three cities played some role in defining and maintaining territory as well, but on a daily basis, the women did their own patrolling. If someone new did not respond to being told that she couldn't work in a particular location, then the women might resort to telling a pimp, who would deal with the other pimp. If the new woman was an independent or transient, or a very young woman, the woman or pimp would likely physically threaten her.

Territoriality also involved the 'old men', the regulars and the marks. You do not cut in (or try to cut out) on any women's main man, or regular customers.

The third major imperative was BUSINESS ETHICS. This included being presentable on the street, using safes (condoms), and following through on the contract to which you had agreed. If a woman was too stoned (or drunk) to work presentably, she would be told to get off the street, or forcibly removed.

"If a girl is falling down drunk on the street, the other girls will tell her to leave, or they'll call the police to pick her up."

Without exception, every woman we talked to used condoms. The major concern was to prevent themselves from contracting a sexually-transmitted disease from a customer. The women implied, however, that juveniles, transients, and occasional hookers do not necessarily use condoms, and it is they, as well as the 'decent' girls in the bars who give it away for free, who generally infect the men.

"One girl out there gave her client V.D. and then he went home and gave it to his wife. She was pregnant at the time. If we find out that any of the girls out there have something or if they aren't using safes, we get them off the street pretty fast--we'll use physical force if we have to."

The women lose regular customers fast if there is any rumour that they are not clean (have some venereal disease), so they are insistent that anyone around their area use protection.

"You get beaten by other girls if you use no safes, cut prices or are caught fooling around with girls' old men."

The women who are seen by other women as dishonest in this way, are looked upon with disdain.

"Some girls are better than others. Others are out and out thieves. Some won't clip. Others do it a lot."

The fourth imperative was NO RATting. Giving information about other women or their managers to the police was, under normal circumstances, forbidden. If, however, a woman's life was at stake for some reason, other women might consider providing inside information to the police. But the circumstances had to be extreme.

The women did RAT on each other, however. If the woman was part of a group of others all working for the same manager, and one woman was holding out money from him, the others would rat. If one woman did not pay up, the others would have to work harder to make up the difference next next.

"If you hold out, other girls will rat out, or your drug dealer will tell. The result--you get slapped around or sent out to make \$500."

These were the basic rules identified to us. They are learned very quickly from whoever turns out a woman (manager, or friend) or are learned from the responses of the other women on the street the first time they become aware that one of these imperatives is not being followed.

Yet with all the alluding to how potentially violent the women can be with a woman who breaks the rules, only one of our respondents admitted having been physically attacked by another woman, and one other respondent claimed to have been threatened by a manager's "main lady".

L2. Mutual Protection

As related elsewhere, the managers do not in practice always provide the kind of security desired by the women, i.e., security from customers' (and other women's) violence. Consequently, the women are organized to provide each other with some form of back-up. The critical features of the system are information, communication, and the customer's awareness that the system is in place. The most typical and most simple method was to insure that before one left the corner with a customer, a colleague was informed. Some women would take the customer's licence plate. Others would know ahead of time, where their friend was taking the customer. Others would make mental notes of the over-all appearance of the customer, make of the vehicle and licence number. The system became more complicated as arrangements were made to phone the room after a specified time away from the street. If a woman was away for an unexpected amount of time, a manager might be called. Respondents were asked, "Do you let others know where you are taking your customers?"

TABLE 49: INFORMING COLLEAGUES OF WORK LOCATION

<u>Responses</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Yes	22
No	4
Not asked	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	36

"On the street, _____ and I worked together.
It was a buddy system."

"We all sort of look after one another out there . .
. keep track of licence numbers. Usually we go to
the same places so the girls get to know where each
other is going."

"There are a couple of women who spot for me. I
tell them at the beginning of the night which hotel
I'm using . . . "

"My sister or other friends working in the area take
a licence number, and know where I'm going and for
how long."

Some of the women had such an arrangement with only one other woman, others
had the arrangement with all the women who worked on the same 'corner'.

"In _____ we were more organized. I worked with
one woman so when we were picked up, we would take
down the license number of the car. Also we always
use the same motel room so if our friend was gone
for longer than half an hour, we'd ring the room.
This always scares the guy off."

"My sister works with me now, and we always let each
other know where we are going. If we are away more
than forty-five minutes, you start to worry."

"You make sure another girl on the corner takes down
the make of the car, the license plate number, and
looks at the driver. On my corner (block) there
were ten of us. We all got along really good."

Sometimes, women would act purely as a watchperson for their friends,
turning no tricks that night at all.

"I was a watchperson for two friends. The three of us would sit in a bar some nights until the other two were picked up. They would take their tricks to a room in that hotel. I would phone up to the room, or go and knock on the door after the woman and the trick had been there for about fifteen or twenty minutes."

But there were some cracks in the solidarity of the "sisterhood security circle.

Four women specified that they did not use the other women as back-ups in this way. In all four cases, they were women who had extensive street experience, and were able to act independently using their own name. As one woman put it,

"Some of them tell the other girls where they'll be. I don't. I consider it weak. You have to depend on your self, or you become weak."

Other comments implied that support and assistance were not necessarily consistent, nor always reliable.

"I only associate with one other hooker. We help each other out. I used to hang around with other women but they ripped me off or set me up. I only hand around with one, I only trust her."

"If you talk smart, the other girls will threaten you. If we have a beef on the street we keep it among the girls. We'll slap around. Some street beefs get settled in the joint."

"The women you work with either back you up or stab you in the back. It depends on how their days are going. If they are having a good day, they'll leave you alone. If they aren't, you become the worst bitch around."

L3. Social Relations

Respondents were asked whether they socialize with other working women, and in what way. Twenty-one said yes, and nine answered no. Six were not asked. Those who spent time with the other women, usually referred to the activity they engaged in as 'partying'.

"You have to be friends with the other girls and pimps. You stick together and it's easier to work. I partied with them all the time."

"I go out with other couples after work if it's not too late. We go to shows and out for drinks."

The women want to avoid meeting customers in social settings. Consequently, each city had one or two clubs frequented by prostitutes and managers. These were usually places where clients could buy liquor after normal hours. In the cities of both Winnipeg and Calgary, researchers visited these after-hour bars, and found several prostitutes present, as well as the men they work for/live with. They witnessed the use of drugs, and the visible presence of weapons. In one club, several police were present, observing. Some of the women go to gay bars, partly because these places may be private clubs and the clientele will be predictable, and partly because as private clubs, they may be open on Sundays, a day when most prostitutes are not working.

"I sometimes go to clubs that a lot of the other working girls go to ... I like to hang out at gay bars 'cause then I won't run into anyone I may have met while working."

Since some of the women shared accommodation with each other, these would also participate in other social relations.

"I go out for breakfast or shopping with women I know. We get together socially but not often."

But the social participation was done in triads and dyads of women, not in large groups.

As noted above, several women claimed not to socialize at all with other prostitutes, although they might relate to them on the street for business purposes.

"I never socialized with the other women. I was pretty much a loner because of my independent status. Because of my independence, I was not invited into the inner circle. I spent time networking with other independents, though."

L4. Relations Between Adult and Juvenile Prostitutes

Our data here is skimpy. The study did not focus on juveniles, but the respondents did make comments about young girls, and they were asked for general opinions about juveniles in prostitution, and what, if anything, should be done. Given the starting ages of our respondents, we know that some women certainly begin prostitution before they are considered legally adult by any standard. Our respondents also stated that they were aware of 'women' on the street in the twelve - fifteen

year category, as well as one as young as nine years of age, at the time of the study. The police also talked about the problems they had responding to the presence of juveniles hooking on the streets.

The attitudes of the respondents towards juveniles was mixed. (Three of our respondents were below sixteen years of age.) The women were asked,

"What do you think should be done about juveniles in prostitution?"

Their responses were classified into the following categories.

TABLE 50: RESPONSES TO JUVENILES IN PROSTITUTION

<u>Response Type</u>	<u># of Respondents</u>
Forcible removable by police, other agencies stricter control, stricter laws etc.	13
Counselling, provision of alternatives, safe home, education about the life etc.	8
You cannot do anything (nothing will work)	3
Do something, but I do not know what	3
No response	6

Some of the responses were related to how juveniles might affect the business, particularly because they were seen to rarely follow the SOCIAL IMPERATIVES and the BUSINESS ETHICS referred to earlier.

"They should not be allowed in the business because they are too vulnerable, immature, and uncommitted. They are not able to handle emotionally or physically, the demands and stresses that go with this work ... i.e. high class clients, large amounts of money earned, knowledge needed to deal with lawyers, accountants, police."

It was assumed by several respondents that girls under sixteen, for example, rarely used condoms, and so were more responsible than the adult women, for the spreading of sexually-transmitted diseases.

Several women noted (although they had all started very young) that under sixteen was a period when a girl could not be expected to know

enough of life to be able to capably handle all the experiences she would encounter on the street.

"You should keep them out. It's hard to handle this mentally when you're an adult. It's harder when you are a kid. You learn to distrust men. It's a heavy trip for a juvenile."

"I started at sixteen, but I wasn't stupid or naive. Lots of girls don't know their ass from a whole in the ground and it's dangerous. They are in danger if they are too naive. They are going to get hurt sooner or later. Send them home to parents or a detention center. At least there they are safe."

"I don't like to see anyone doing it when they are under sixteen or if they are really naive. I know what I was doing when I got into it. Shouldn't be out there when you are under sixteen -- even for me it was too young. I know more now than before. But I don't know what to do to keep under "sixteen" off the streets."

These kinds of comments demonstrate a mixture of business-related concerns, and personal concerns, i.e. concerns for the situation of the juvenile herself.

The women wanted more done to remove juveniles from the streets, but these were divided into two groups. One group saw the enforcement of stricter controls (and laws) as the solution.

"You should do whatever it takes to get them off the streets. I started when I was twenty-four -- I had been married and knew what I was doing when I made my choice. Thirteen - seventeen years old is just too young to be out there."

"In this area (under sixteen) you need to tighten up the laws. The cops know (when a juvenile is on the street) ... We tell them about juveniles. They have every means to control it but don't. It would be so easy."

"There are a lot of juveniles out there, and I don't really think they should be. The laws should be made so that the kids can be kept off the streets."

"Juveniles have got to be taken off the streets for safety and mental health reasons."

Two women indicated that it was really the responsibility of the adult prostitutes (themselves) to 'police' the streets for juveniles and force them off the streets.

"In _____, us girls always have a vehicle. When it's not busy, we drive around and get the young girls off the street. Take their money. Kick them off."

"Kick their asses off the streets."

The second group of respondents were interested in seeing the juveniles provided with more alternatives and therefore some choice. They recommended, more than anything, the opportunity for juveniles to talk to adult women, so that they can tell them what street life is really like.

"Talk groups. Educate the kids as to what is really happening out there. Teach them about the violence."

"It took me one week to get involved. Maybe someone with experience should talk to them. Show them how to be happy if they quit."

"Counselling. They need to be talked to by working prostitutes. Kids need to know the facts. It's not easy working on the street. It's very hard. You have to cope with a lot. They need more education. The legal age for adults needs to be raised higher than sixteen. Prostitution needs to be deglamorized, to get away from the Xaveria Hollander image. You need to have choices when you are young. You can get these choices through education."

"The key area is education for juvenile prostitution. We cannot continue to bring up our children and pretend it is not an issue. It is part and parcel of vandalism, drug and alcohol abuse. They need to be independent, yet are not able to because there are no jobs. It's very easy to turn a trick for money. 'You do it for nothing, why not get paid for it' is a common attitude. Guys still want to get laid. If you want to get at the juveniles involved in prostitution, then provide them with an 'education' about prostitution."

"There should be action against the pimps and clients, not the kids. You should create drop-in centres and safe houses for runaways so that the problem would be reduced."

"Most juveniles are runaways. They need a home. It's hard to break out when you get in it young. they need " a real home." That's the only solution."

A fatalistic attitude was held by a small number of women: the feeling that often very young women have no option, that they will find ways to do what they feel they have to, no matter what, and that as long as men are willing to pay for juveniles, they will be on the street.

"Most of them can't get jobs. When they are seventeen, they are too old for the Children's Aid Society and too young for welfare. They're put into a catch-22 situation by the government."

"You can't do much about juveniles. Young girls come back to the streets after they've been kicked off or taken off. No one can control what someone else does."

"Not much you can do. It's not really good for them. but customers prefer younger girls too."

With the knowledge that some managers seek to 'turn out' juveniles, one woman noted adamantly that as long as there was no pimp involved, then the young woman should be allowed to work.

"Make sure they are not working for pimps. Then if they want to work by themselves, let them work ... if they do it to support themselves."

The respondents left no doubt that when competition sharpened, they preferred to see juveniles off the streets, since a very young girl would compete favorably with an older woman for tricks. They did not want any females on the street who did not at least show some respect for the rules. But each respondent also expressed concern that this business was simply not 'healthy' for young women, and they deserved better alternatives when they were young and had choices left to make.

M. RELATIONS WITH OTHERS IN THE ZONE

M1. "Residents"

At the time of the study, the prostitution zones under observation in the three target cities were not located in residential districts, but in commercial areas of each city. For this reason, over-all the women did not receive complaints from individuals 'living' in the district.

When asked about their relationship with the members of the community in which they worked, nineteen of the women specified that while others

knew what they did, no one that they were aware of ever complained about them or their specific behavior on the streets. Three women said they did not know whether anyone complained to police, but none had to them. Five women mentioned that occasionally a resident (in all cases, a business resident) would approach them and tell them to move. The person complaining either explains the practical reason for the request, or simply tells them to go.

"If you stand in front of a store, the owners will ask you to move away from the front door because you block traffic."

"People in the area tell us to get lost"

Although none of the respondents mentioned it themselves, from observation, and interviews and from media reports, it was apparent that fast food service outlets in the area fronting onto the zone itself, were a special case. In each city, small food outlets described problems created by prostitutes in obvious numbers, using their facilities for rest and coffee, and even for soliciting through front street windows. This behavior, if done frequently enough, and in large enough numbers, discouraged other customers from entering the building. In one case, a business simply painted a mural over its entire front window, so the women could not attract any customers while seated inside. In another case, the owner of the business went public, using the media to explain his case. He drew the assistance of police, and attracted public attention to his business at the same time. This problem arises when the zone contains an abundance of legitimate entertainment locations, such as restaurants and theaters. Then the businesses are undermined if prostitutes make themselves part of the physical locale of the outlet itself.

Certainly not everyone complains. In some cases, the owners and managers of local businesses appreciate the extra business that the presence of prostitution brings to the area. In other cases, mentioned specifically by three of the women, the local business owners are regular customers, even marks.

"Local residents (business owners) are often the tricks. Some own fancy restaurants. We go to the back door of the restaurant for a date. Often we'll get food. They're just like street people."

The relationships between prostitutes and area inhabitants vary remarkably and appear to be dependent upon the moral inclinations of the resident, and the practical impact of the occupation on the business itself.

M2. Other Occupations

The other occupational categories identified as having some inter-relationship with the hookers were waiters and waitresses, hotel employees (doormen, bellhops, security agents, desk clerks, and bartenders) and cab drivers. No clear patterns evolved between the prostitutes and all of the above, except with cab drivers.

While the majority of the women had no special relationships with waiters and waitresses, three of them noted that if they were in a coffee shop, or in a bar, a waitress would point out tricks to them, and they would tip the woman. They might also tip a waitress in a food outlet that they wanted to frequent, in order to prevent the woman from 'turning them in' to the manager, or to pay her for helping them watch their own corner for tricks while they were having a coffee break.

"In _____, the waitresses help set up tricks."

"You have to tip waitresses a lot to keep them off our backs and have them tell us if a trick is there, or the police."

According to our respondents, waiters and waitresses figured very little in the occupation of street prostitution.

Hotel employees, by contrast, may play quite active roles in the working lives of the women. Again, however, the variety of the relationships were far greater than the commonality of experiences. Since the respondents generally worked on the street, few of them expressed any consistent relationships with any of the hotel people. Bartenders were said to do everything from hassling the women to get out of the bar, to nothing special, to accepting money to ignore the woman's presence, to referring a trick to the zone (but not to a particular woman) to setting specific women up with tricks. Only five respondents noted any special relationship with a bartender or bartenders in general.

The women related more frequently with desk clerks, since they had to go to a desk clerk to obtain a room or sometimes to obtain the key each time the room was used. Two women mentioned that desk clerks are straight, but friendly and helpful. They all get to know one another. Two other women described the variety of relationships which might exist.

"Some desk clerks ask for tips, others we tip ourselves. Some just act straight with us. -- take the money and give us the key."

Clearly there are no set rules here either. None of the respondents mentioned ever being hassled by a desk clerk.

Doormen and bellhops are in a different category. Door men were thought by some of the women to play a semi-watchdog role, attempting to prevent the hotel from being infiltrated by prostitutes.

"I swear they (some of the bigger hotels) must send their doorman out on the street with money so that they can tell who the girls are, and then they watch for us when we come around the hotels."

They may also be the individuals responsible for removing the woman from a hotel room if some complaint is made against her.

"Bellhops and doormen--they were always the guys who kicked you out a hotel when you were on a call."

On the other hand, they might also act as a form of specialized pimp during large conventions, similar to that described in the following quote.

"In the U.S. when you worked a convention, you were literally locked into your hotel room, and the doormen would bring you what you needed, condoms, food. They also sent up all of the customers. When you work a convention in a hotel by yourself, you split with the doorman - 60% for yourself, 40% for the doorman."

The few women who made comments about doormen and bellhops (five) noted the contradictions in their status and behavior. Officially, they were anti-prostitute. Unofficially they, along with some hotel managers, were either customers of, or party-goers alongside, the same prostitutes they tried to keep out of the hotels.

The people specifically in charge of hotel security are expected to act officially to prevent prostitution in the better hotels. Yet, some of them have contradictory personal relationships with the women.

"In the bigger hotels, they try to keep us out. These are the guys that are usually the ones that do it." (i.e. customers.)

The general consensus was that whatever relationship existed between hotel employees of various types, and the prostitutes, it was individualized, and was a working or business relationship based on a mutually agree-upon contract of some nature. Whenever a relationship did exist, it was maintained by a combination of monetary payment and sexual services from the prostitute to the employee.

"No problem with service staff in hotels. You always tip them so they never cause a scene."

Generalizations cannot be made about cab drivers as a group. In each city, there were some cab drivers who might bring a customer to the zone, but they did not relate at all to the women. The women did not talk to them, or know them, or use their cabs. Other cabbies were considered to be 'just friends'. This categorization implied that the women would use their cabs to ride to and from work, that they would 'party' with them, and that if the driver was in the area when it was cold, he might give them a free ride in order to allow them to warm up. As a friend, he might also sell them drugs for their personal use, including bootleg alcohol. Nine of the respondents indicated that friendship was the main form of their relationship with cab drivers.

"Cabbies are really good to the girls on the street in general."

"They're dope dealers, they get us tricks, they'll drive us home for free to get our coats. We have to give them only a few dollars even to make several stops."

Another form of relationship is between the women, and the cab drivers who 'regularly' bring customers to the area, and who appear to consider themselves part of the business relationships in the zone. Ten respondents described varying "contractual" relationships with cab drivers who bring them tricks. In all cases, it was assumed by the women that the trick himself paid the driver for being brought to the zone, (payment over and above the required cab fare). In the first type, the prostitute would generally give the cabbie higher tips when she used his cab personally, to reward him for bringing her tricks.

"Occasionally a cab driver will come around and say a guy in this room at this hotel wants company."

In the second type of relationship, the cab driver may be given some portion of the acquired fee, especially if there was something special about the trick (i.e. a high spender, or someone who could be easily ripped off).

"Usually certain ones drive you to work and "play the area" -- they stay in the area so if a girl needs them, they're around. but they're not pimping! If they know business has been bad, they'll give a girl a free ride ... when the prostitute is making good money, she'll tip him real well. Cabbies make a lot of money bringing a trick over. Too, if they know its a "clip" (i.e. the

customer is going to be robbed) the cabbie will hang around and the girl will give him some money."

In the third type of relationship, the cab driver would be paid a regular 'commission' by the woman's pimp, and the women had little to do directly with the cab driver."

"Some cabbies worked for _____ (her former pimp). They would be paid off to bring us customers."

In all these cases, the women did not consider the cabbies to be pimping. Some cab drivers sold drugs to pimps through the women, or directly to the pimps themselves, as well as to other people in the zone.

The fourth type of relationship was segregated in the women's perception from the others. This was one in which a pimp actually worked as a cab driver. This type of job was ideal, because it gave the pimp transportation, with which he could patrol the women, pick up their money, and also actively solicit customers for his own women, since frequently customers will be from out-of-town. (According to one of the researchers, one cabbie in one of the cities studied who was also a pimp, tried to recruit her while he was functioning as a cabbie.

"I know a lot of cab drivers. They bring customers. Sell drugs. Sell alcohol on Sundays. there are a couple of black cabbies that are pimps."

In each of the cities studied, some cab drivers are clearly an integral part of the occupation of street prostitution.

M3. The General Public

The final group mentioned by the women was what one might call the 'general public'. These are the people, (excluding owners of businesses, or residents in the area) who show some interest in prostitution in the city, either from a distance through their comments in the mass media, or through their presence in the zone for the purpose of looking at what is taking place, i.e. the curiosity seekers. Although there was no formal organization of prostitutes found in the prairie region, individual women had 'gone public' through the media in each of the cities studied at one time or other. In all cases, this action was prompted by the impending development of municipal by-laws which would have affected their livelihood.

Members of the public do frequent the prostitution zones. Some pose no problem. They come to look and that is all they do. Others 'hassle' the women, either verbally, or physically or both.

"People on the street act as if we are dirt when they walk by."

"One fellow driving by had his big dog in the back of the truck. He was asking me to give it a blow job. I almost lost it that night. I feel that a lot of the people out there that are not buying the services are abusive with their mouths."

Two of the respondents reported having food items and beer bottles thrown at them from passing vehicles.

There was consensus among the respondents that they had a right to be on the street provided they were not bothering the public, and all were willing to respond if they felt they were unjustly hassled.

"If they (the public) start to hassle me, I am prepared to give it right back to them."

But several respondents implied through comments that the prostitutes themselves had an obligation not to be offensive, and the women who treated their activity like a business also expressed some standards about how visible and aggressive they could be on the street before it would become offensive to passersby.

"When there are problems with people that aren't involved in the business its usually six of one and half a dozen of the other. For a lot of the girls out there that get hassled it's their own fault. In general, if you treat people that are passing by with respect they don't bother you. My corner is my corner and any girl that wants to work out there has to work a clean corner or deal with me. I want the public to see the good side of this business. When a couple is coming down the street I back off and let them go by. Also, I don't approach tricks in front of a man and his wife. Just because I'm a hooker doesn't mean I can't show courtesy and respect. When they're in trouble it's usually with younger women and their boyfriends. Ones around twenty-one or twenty-two will often mouth off to the girls on the street. You get to know when there is going to be trouble just by their looks. Usually I try to avoid it. I've learned a lot of patience on the job. I've learned how far I can go with people."

N. RELATIONS WITH POLICE

Interviews with police revealed that police and prostitutes relate to one another on both a formal and informal level. Police do arrest and charge the women, but according to police, their primary relationship is one of control, and the major mechanisms are such things as identifying the women, negotiating a working relationship with them, involving themselves as 'arbitrators' in street-based conflicts, and finally, harassment (all described elsewhere in this project).

Interviews with the women validated much of what the police said about the different forms of occupational relationships police engaged in as peace officers. However, from the women's point of view, equally important was how the police functioned as individual officers, i.e. to what extent variety existed in the way in which individual officers (or partners) used the four mechanisms referred to above; how the 'control' was actually carried out.

At least three distinct police 'orientations' to the goal of control emerged from the interviews with the women. We refer to them here as Regulation, Intervention and Prohibition.

N1. Regulation

Police who regulate are, according to the women, the even-handed technicians of order. They identify the women, they seek any information they can obtain, they give tickets, they harass, they do their job. But either they have no personal opinion about what the women do, or they don't make it apparent to the women. They don't 'use' the women (i.e. take advantage of their vulnerability, or physically mistreat them) but neither do they show them any special favours. They show more attention to the street in general, than to the women personally, focusing on traffic problems, noise levels, visibility of behavior that might offend others, and other types of crimes, (such as drug trafficking, theft, and forms of violence).

"I have not specifically [asked for protection or help] but I would if I ever had to. We always let them know when there are bad tricks around and they will do the same for us."

"Police aren't bothered with prostitutes - its the pimps and dope that they are concerned with."

"I tricked a couple of vice - one was a regular customer for 1 - 1 1/2 years. Didn't know he was a cop at the time. We never discussed what he did. I believe he would have busted me if he would have had to."

"I know a lot of police. I went to them for help after a buy beat me up and after a guy knicked me with his knife. They (the police) ask how everything is going and if everything is safe. This is true both for uniformed and plainclothes police officers. They watch out for you. I've never been harassed by them. They sometimes ask for identification, but that's for safety so they can identify you if they find you dead in a ditch. I was glad they took my picture. It makes it easier. For example, one time a couple of police thought I was a juvenile, and I said, 'No, I'm G4 (her # with the police photo): They looked it up and saw that I'm not a juvenile."

"[Asked for protection] once when I was raped, and if someone is lurking around which usually happens every weekend. Usually I just flag over cruisers as they drive by. Police are cooperative when the requests are legitimate."

The police who are seen by the women as strictly 'regulators' will provide the same type of police response to crimes committed against the women on the street as they would to any other citizen. Although the 'regulators' still harass the women and their customers as part of their control function, and still try to gain evidence against them for a variety of illegal acts, the women see them as fair, predictable, and worthy of a negotiated working relationship.

"Uniforms just stop and chat to ask how we are doing. An undercover once stopped. I asked him if he wanted to go out. I didn't know he was an undercover. He said "No". I said "Fine". He told me it was a good thing I only asked once."

"They ask for information. I usually say 'no'. But if it's to help me out on the street, like to get rid of wierdo's, then I'll tell them."

"Some 'good' cops you can trust - they see something and turn the other way. I help them out if they need to know something."

"The police tend to leave you alone unless you are involved in trouble of some kind or if you mouth off to them. I find the police fantastic. They have brought me coffee and have driven me around the block to warm up. Stuff like that."

"Police here are better than in any other city. There are ones that know us and understand us. They don't want to harass us. Sometimes if a raid or the heat is on, word gets down through certain girls."

"Some recognize us as humans with a family life. We develop trust between us. They could control prostitution if they wanted to - through constant harassment. But its to my benefit to give police information now and then, if I want to keep them off my back. I'll give information because they do things for me. If you're an ass, they'll harass you. I've stopped police and asked them to get someone who's harassing me to leave me alone. Theyve stopped these people. Sometimes I've asked them to get another police officer off my back."

Police who function as "regulators" will respond to the women as though what they were doing was an occupation not unlike any other job.

"I was being held in a police cell for assault. There was a young woman in there, too. They came at about midnight and told me they were going to move me to another cell for my own good. I thought they were full of shit. But they told me the other girl had herpes and that it could fuck up my job. So that was neat."

Police as 'regulators' focus on restricting visible street prostitution to the more easily-controlled areas, and those areas likely to cause the least offence. According to the women, however, containment is virtually impossible; if the money moves elsewhere, or the possibility for increased business is elsewhere, the women will move.

"I used to work _____ Street. I work _____ Street now because last year, the police closed off _____ Street every night for three weeks. The money moved off _____ Street, so I moved too. The police stopped every third car and said if your plate number comes up here more than three times, you'll get a fine. They scared all the tricks away. But you've got to go somewhere. The money changes, and you go with it."

"The city did it themselves. This used to be a wholesale area. They knew we were here. Yet they built up the area and made it into a money area. They shouldn't build up a red light district as a tourist area, but they did."

The impression given by the women is that the process of Regulation is a never-ending game between the women and the police; a game which, however, played according to fair and known rules, allows both groups to continue to do their jobs.

N2. Intervention

Police who intervene have as their goal, to remove the women from the occupation, not because they think it is immoral, but because they think it is violent, harsh and degrading to the individual women. These are the rare police who try to help the women to quit. Although they also carry on most of the activities required to regulate the order of the streets, they supplement their behavior with personalized social service activities:

"When we are asked by a girl for help to get off the street, we explain to her that she has to be prepared to move (at least out of her existing residence and maybe out of the city), quit going to her regular bars, restaurants, shopping areas, etc. (Any place that her pimp would be expecting her to hang out) Essentially, she has to be prepared to change her entire life style. If she gets any hassle from her pimp or working associates, we tell her to tell him that a statement has been given to myself and my partner and that if he bothers her she'll sign it and testify against him. Also, if she needs it we are prepared to speak to social services on her behalf so that she can obtain the assistance she needs. If she needs a bus ticket out of town we will help her get it and see that she makes the bus. We've found social service agencies to be pretty co-operative to date. We've had a few come to us and have successfully helped two girls since I've been working, successful in that they have left _____ and haven't shown up on the streets here again."

If a women (particularly the very young ones) wants to quit the business, the "intervenor" will help in any way possible, including giving them a place to stay for one night, small amounts of cash, bus tickets out of town, contacts with a variety of social services, and whatever else the police officer has to offer.

In each city studied, the women interviewed were able to identify one or two of these police. The women expressed no resentment towards them, as the methods they used to attempt to provide the women with alternatives were not considered moralistic or condemnatory' by the women. Two women noted that if there is a juvenile on the street that

can be 'saved', the women themselves will take the individual to the police officer who is an 'intervenor'.

When the 'intervenor' functions as a police officer, the focus is on the street, and its control. When the 'intervenor' functions as a 'social worker', the focus is on individual women. They attempt to control the street, and 'save' the women through the process of negotiation rather than force or harassment.

From the point of view of the women, the 'intervenor's are the "nice guys" on the force, the ones with sympathy, and the inclination within their own professional limits, to treat the women as though they were human.

N3. Prohibition

Police who are 'prohibitionists' want to rid the world of the buying and selling of sexual activity, whether it is visible or not. It is the act itself that offends these officers, and not the result in terms of loss of street control. These officers are referred to by the women as the 'moralistic type', or those with a 'holier-than-thou' attitude. There is both resentment and hostility between these officers and the women on the street. Consequently, these officers are seen by the women to be the most harassing, the most violent, the most unfair.

"Some cops come after me and don't even know me. Cops think they know it all. They'll try to use you. That's why you get bitter at the system. I've been put through the grinder by police but you learn to live with."

These police also engage in identification, negotiation, and harassment, but the major difference between themselves and the 'regulators', is the manner in which they act, and the extremes in which they engage. They let their negative attitudes be known to the women and the clients, going all the way from enjoying the chance to harass, right up to physical violence towards the women. (There was a strong rumour at the time of the study that two police officers in one city were responsible for the death of more than one prostitute.)

"They started taking pictures - like I was a criminal. They said it was to keep in case they found your body in a ditch. If I didn't agree to it, I'd get pushed up against the wall and maybe spend a night in jail. My phone is tapped anytime. I move a lot; try to keep my address from being known. You often walk in and find your place torn apart "looking for drugs."

"Some police were abusive. Asked stupid questions like "who are you working for" and would expect you to answer. When you didn't they got abusive."

"I was slapped around by police when they picked me up for questioning. They banged my head against the wall because I didn't say anything. They called me names. Asked me if I knew anyone under age. Police aren't there to help me. I'm a Metis - They don't help us."

"Sometimes police come down drunk on duty. They push you against a wall and ask when they are going to legalize prostitution. But the cops aren't all bad."

The 'prohibitionists' are seen to provide less than the service they would provide to any other citizen. The women would not waste time going to a 'prohibitionist' for assistance of any kind, and in fact, are provoked to be more difficult themselves by a police officer who treats them as though their whole life was dirt. The women consider these police to lack professional standards.

"They sit and watch and talk to you on the job. You don't get customers that way. Most of the ones I know joke about what they do as cops."

"When I have a bad trick, I tell other girls about it and the type of car he's driving. I never report it to the police because they wouldn't do anything."

"I got picked up by the police once when I was drunk. They wanted my name. I wouldn't give it. It took three cops to throw me in the cell that night."

"Some customers rape the girls. Most girls will lay charges. A lot of police think a working girl can't get raped."

"Cops are always commenting on how much it (prostitution) stops rapes. They'd rather see one of us get raped than a sixteen year old. We deal with violence, we learn to. If men can't pay, they'll take it. You just don't think about the fear."

"No point in reporting it (physical abuse) to the police when they slap you around, too."

"Police think 'you can't rape a whore or that if you are a whore, you asked for the beatings'. No point in going to the cops."

"My husband beat me a lot. I reported the beatings but police would take an hour and a half to show up. By that time, you're half dead and terrified. Hard to leave when you can't get any protection. I quit calling them after a while. There was no point."

Rather ironically, the women reported that it is predominantly the moralistic police, especially the ones who express real hatred for the women and their activity, that attempt to obtain sexual services for themselves, or for friends, without paying.

"I was picked up at the _____ and was told I was going to be checked for drugs, but that in exchange for a blow job, I wouldn't be taken in."

"Two years ago, I had sex with a guy in a car in a back alley. After we were done, the guy pulled out his badge and said that I had better do this for him all the time or he would take me in. Apparently, he did this to a few other women and then we never saw him again."

"You'll get some come down and ask you to service a couple of buddies from Toronto. Some want freebies. The women used to party with the police in the Hotel to keep them off you."

"I don't like the police. They would often make smart remarks. Both Vice and uniform would be smart asses. One police officer said he'd had a good time the time I'd taken him out, but I couldn't remember."

Data from the women about these types of police orientations did not allow us to determine if there is any correlation among a variety of personal and occupational variables, and the orientation any particular police officer had.

Although the 'regulator' was the dominant type of police officer orientation, the women in all three cities studied gave specific named examples of each of the 'intervenor' and the 'prohibitionist' types. One belief that all the women interviewed had in common, was that if you want to work on the street, you must be familiar with the cops and how they all work individually. As one woman briefly claimed:

"If you want to stay sane, you need to realize that there are both good and bad cops on the force, and you'd better know the difference."

Clearly, police-prostitute relationships demonstrate as much or more variety as the relationships which exist between prostitutes and all the other participants in the street life. [They range all the way from minimal contact of any kind to sexual relations and physical violence (sometimes mutual).] The activities that police engage in are not encumbered by law, or by custom, or by professional police ethics/standards, but evolve on the basis of all of these factors, as well as being influenced by individual preference.

SECTION FOUR

THE IMPACT OF CHANGE: SPECULATIONS AND ADVICE

A. INTRODUCTION

This study has allowed some of the key participants in the occupation of prostitution to voice their views. When they speak as individuals, rather than as representatives of a particular group, the wide variety of opinion becomes apparent, in contrast to the impression of unanimity given by formal briefs which arise from organized groups, be they police or prostitutes.

A few words of caution are appropriate here. What follows is opinion and speculation, based on individual experiences, but not upon the respondents' familiarity with any extensive data base about the conditions of prostitution in general. Secondly, very few police or female sellers were even willing to 'guess' about the impact of different types of law reform either on factors related to prostitution, or on their particular role. Most responded either that they could not possibly know, or with very qualified answers about not really being able to predict how changes in the law would affect the complexity of life on the street. Hence, the data in this section represents a small number of respondents, not necessarily representative.

B. Police Opinions

The different behavioral orientations of police described elsewhere in this report were paralleled by a lack of consensus about what impact various changes in the law might have on prostitution, as well as about what should be done in the future. The only real unanimity was in the expression of frustration in having to use what are considered by all police in the study, to be unenforceable laws, and secondly, the disappointment in the lack of assertiveness on the part of legislators in the country to take a stand, no matter what stand it might be.

There was no discernible correlation between police attitudes in this area of questioning, and the usual influential variables such as age, length of service, variety of police experience and so on. Some officers with over twenty years of experience agreed with junior constables. Some officers with similar types of training and experience disagreed with each other, to the extreme of working partners expressing different attitudes about impact and future legislation. When the individuals who work directly with the women and the clients and the managers on the street express such a variety of opposing opinions, it demonstrates further, the complexity of what has been simply referred to as 'the prostitution problem'.

B1. Perceived Impact of Three Types of Law Reform:
More Restrictive Laws, Decriminalization and Legalization

Police were asked to speculate about the potential impact on violence, criminal activities, prostitution and their own jobs, of three different legal scenarios: greater legal restrictions, decriminalization and legalization. The questions read:

Question:

If laws relating to prostitution were made more restrictive (i.e., laws altered so that individuals could be convicted of prostitution, solicitation and related activities) how would this affect: . . .

If prostitution were decriminalized (i.e., control of these activities using such non-criminal code provisions as causing a disturbance, loitering and obstructing, trespassing, etc.) how would this affect: . . .

If prostitution were legalized (i.e., licensed and/or placed under the control of business-like regulations) how would this affect: . . .

and each question was followed by these four factors.

- 1) Levels of violence on the street?
- 2) Related criminal activities?
- 3) The occupational world of prostitution?
- 4) Your job as a police officer?

B1.1 Impact on Street Violence

TABLE 51: IMPACT OF THREE TYPES OF LAW REFORM ON
LEVELS OF VIOLENCE ON THE STREET

<u>Impact on Violence</u>	<u>Number of Police Respondents</u>		
	<u>More Restrictive Laws</u>	<u>Decriminalization</u>	<u>Legalization</u>
No effect/no change	6	17	8
Increased Amount	3	9	1
Decreased Amount	10	2	3
Eliminated	0	0	1
Driven underground, but no real change	2	0	0
Totals	<u>21</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>13</u>

Those respondents who indicated that making the present laws more restrictive (which by the way implied to most of the police, more enforceable) would produce little or no change, assumed that no matter how restrictive the laws become, prostitution will exist, and the equivalent level of violence will remain, violence being more closely related to street life in general, rather than controlled by the presence or absence of street prostitution. Police who believed the level of violence would be dramatically affected by an increase, attributed it to prostitution being driven underground, and the police subsequently having less ability to control the violence with which it is associated. Those who gave decreased violence as their answer believed in a direct casual relationship between police being able to control street prostitution effectively, and reduced violence. Note that most of these respondents were not assuming, however, that it was the women who needed to be controlled, but in fact their focus on making more restrictive laws was applicable to pimps and clients.

"If laws were made more restrictive, it would bring down the number of assaults and robberies in prostitution related areas. But you'll never stop it. It just wouldn't be out in the open anymore."

To most police respondents, decriminalization implied in practice, at least, no real change from what existed at the time of the study. Since they found it inefficient and ineffective to apply laws directly related to prostitution, they had already experimented with a variety of non-criminal code laws and ordinances as well as a variety of informal control mechanisms (referred to elsewhere) in their attempts to control prostitution. Hence, the majority who answered felt that no change would occur in the levels of violence, since decriminalization would produce no change in anything. Those, on the other hand, who expected an increase in violence attributed it to a subsequent increase in women on the street, a parallel increase in the presence of pimps, an increase in the level of competition for business, and an automatic increase in the level of violence among all parties.

Police who felt that legalization of prostitution would produce no change in the levels of violence associated with it, assumed also that even if prostitution were to be legalized, that process would not eliminate pimps. With pimps, comes violence.

"Violence and other crimes would increase. It would become a very lucrative business. It would demoralize society even more than it already is. It would increase the abuse of women. The normal acceptance of prostitution has gone along with the general acceptance of the degradation of women."

In all but two very clear cases of police officers who felt that prostitution itself (i.e. the selling of sexual services) was the cause

of much of the violence on the street, the consensus was that the violence presently found in conjunction with prostitution is attributed to other than the women themselves, and any changes in the laws which aim to reduce street violence, must take that fact into account.

"Law means nothing to the level of violence. A lot of violence is done by losers who don't care about law."

For those to whom legalization meant reduced violence, it was assumed that prostitution would no longer be controlled by managers, but that the women would work independently.

B1.2 Impact on Related Criminal Activity

TABLE 52: IMPACT OF THREE TYPES OF LAW REFORM ON
RELATED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY ON THE STREET

<u>Impact on Related Criminal Activity</u>	<u>Number of Police Respondents</u>		
	<u>More Restrictive Laws</u>	<u>Decriminal- ization</u>	<u>Legalization</u>
No effect/no change	6	15	8
Increased amount	2	9	4
Decreased amount	5	0	2
Eliminated	0	0	0
Driven underground, but no real change	2	0	0
Eliminate pimps	0	0	4
Totals	15	24	18

Of those officers who felt that more restrictive laws would make little or no effect on other criminal activities, their expressed assumption was that prostitution will still exist, accompanied by thefts, fraud, and drug trafficking, no matter how restrictive the laws become. For the other group of police who assumed that related criminal activities would decrease if prostitution were more heavily policed, their assumption was that this would happen only if the penalties were made extremely harsh, and the police would be able to enforce the more restrictive laws.

Again, the majority of respondents assumed that decriminalization was basically the situation in which they functioned, at the time of the study, and so no change would occur. However, some police who felt that upon decriminalization, related criminal activities would increase, were attributing this also to an increase in the numbers of 'ne'er-do-wells' that would become involved in the occupation in one way or another.

"Decriminalization would draw more ne'er-do-wells downtown, since upstanding citizens don't go into prostitution."

Since the majority of police did not assume that prostitution itself was the cause of other criminal activities, many respondents also assumed that legalizing it would not have any effect one way or the other on related criminal events.

"Legalizing prostitution wouldn't get rid of other criminal activities. So often women are the victims of crime."

Those who assumed that there might be an increase in criminal activity referred to the probability that legalizing prostitution would invite the participation of organized crime.

"Even if it were put into a licensed area who would be responsible for controlling it? Are the police or the government supposed to act as pimps? I see nothing but problems with doing something like this. It would just open the doors wide open for organized crime."

Those police who assumed a subsequent reduction in related criminal activities, envisioned prostitution becoming more like a respectable commercial activity, eventually removed from the street altogether.

B1.3 Impact on the Occupation of Prostitution

TABLE 53: IMPACT OF THREE TYPES OF LAW REFORM
ON THE WORLD OF PROSTITUTION ITSELF

Impact on the World of Prostitution	<u>Number of Police Respondents</u>		
	<u>More Restrictive Laws</u>	<u>Decriminal- ization</u>	<u>Legalization</u>
No effect/no change	5	9	8
Increased numbers	0	8	6
Decreased numbers	0	0	0
Eliminated	2	0	0
Driven underground, but no real change	14	0	0
Easier for police to control	4	0	0
Easier to control juveniles	4	0	0
Decrease pimp control	0	0	0
Increase pimp control	2	2	0
Government becomes pimp	0	0	4
Totals	31	19	22

Although some police felt that more restrictive laws would impact on their behavior related to prostitution, most assumed that even if the police had laws that were enforceable and more restrictive, there would be no real, long-term effect on the occupation of prostitution. Many felt that the women would not be as visible, either because of having to relocate within and between cities more often, or because they would be forced off the public streets.

"If prostitutes don't want to be controlled, they won't, but it depends on the penalties. If a girl needs \$500.00 to finish University, she'll turn six tricks. The benefits are there. If you have tougher laws, you need tougher penalties, for the client too. We've got no power to deal with prostitution now. You need to make powers quite broad, but I don't think the constitution will let you. Anyway, I'm not a lawyer, I'm an enforcer of laws, not a creator."

"If laws were more restrictive, it would increase levels because there would be more competition and more intimidation, especially among pimps. It would cut down on the visibility of the girls on the street, and drive them underground, but it definitely would not eliminate it. It would make being a police officer a pain in the ass."

But as noted in the earlier data on the impact on violence, some police feared that making the women more invisible would also make it more difficult for the police to respond to violence. Only two officers suggested that more restrictive laws could eliminate prostitution: most assumed that prostitution as an activity had unassailable longevity.

"If the laws were more restrictive, they'd just move their operations around. You're never going to eliminate it."

Decriminalization would produce either what the police had to deal with now . . .

"Decriminalization is what we have now. It doesn't work. We can only force our hand so far and if they call our bluff, we're stuck."

. . . or it would open the door for more women to become involved. Two police noted that this legal change would encourage the younger women especially, some of whom are now, in police opinion, deterred by the stigma attached to prostitution by its 'criminalized' context (i.e. reference to it in the Criminal code).

In general, police respondents felt similarly about the impact of legalization on prostitution itself: there would either be no change, or the numbers of people and problems involved would increase.

"If you legalized, there would be free-lancers, ones who try to undercut. The government would be the supreme pimp, cause you'd still have women to control, like checking for doctors certificates and so on. If you legalized it you'd have a legal age, and those outside the legal limits would be in the same boat as they all are now."

"Legalizing would only be different if there weren't any pimps. There would be more problems with stabbings and deaths and thefts, and more wheeling and dealing would go on involving even younger women."

"Legalizing might increase the number of prostitutes, and the number of problems, like a chain reaction. It would increase the amount of work for police. You'd find prostitutes working anyways, because they want the money, and this is their life style. They're not going to worry about being licensed. I don't think it's the answer, but I'm not saying I have the answer either."

"It's a service that if it wasn't wanted, it wouldn't be here. Maybe it's good. Might resort to other forms of rape and child molestation. No legislation is going to put a stop to it unless the penalties are outrageous. When all we do is slap them with a fine, and they can make money that quick, then the laws are worthless. It's like bootlegging. You might as well make it a business."

Four police mentioned that the regulatory requirements that would accompany legalization would require "policing", and this in itself would make it more straightforward to control, although few police could appreciate themselves in that role.

"Legalization would cause a tremendous headache. There would need to be a way of regulating it, monitoring it, and enforcing it so that organized crime would not take over. You would almost have to have prostitutes paying for implementation of regulations. Tax payers should not be paying me as an officer to go out there and police prostitution when there are things that are of more importance. Legalization of prostitution is a ridiculous route."

Four police noted that the only change brought about by legalization was that control over prostitution would move from street pimps, to the government.

"If it were legalized here, there would be a lot of reaction . . . The _____ (specified community group) would shoot me for even mentioning it. But if you don't have a law that works, you may as well legalize it. Not pimps, or juveniles, but the women would have to have regular medical exams, report to the police once a month, keep a record of business, and pay income tax (get them off welfare, since now they are working both ends). You've got to make it real good, or not at all."

"You would license and control and charge for income tax. You'd take it out of the hands of the pimps, and put it into the hands of government."

"Legalizing it won't stop it. But they'd have to have medicals, and pay income tax. It would take hookers off welfare, and would at least be some form of regulation. But the government would then be the pimp, and living off the avails."

B1.4 Impact on the Police Officer Role

TABLE 54: IMPACT OF THREE TYPES OF LAW REFORM ON
THE POLICE OFFICER'S ROLE

Impact on Police Job	<u>Number of Respondents</u>		
	<u>More Restrictive Laws</u>	<u>Decriminal- ization</u>	<u>Legalization</u>
No effect/no change	4	11	6
More control problems	3	0	2
Fewer control problems	2	0	6
Increased workload	7	10	12
Decreased workload	1	0	0
Totals	17	21	26

Assuming that 'more restrictive laws' would also be enforceable, several police predicted an increased workload for themselves, suggesting a need for more police officers to be attached to the Vice division.

"If laws were able to be used, we'd use them. Right now there are absolutely no controls."

"It would make finding it more difficult, but also more challenging, more time to locate and investigate. The way it is now, there is no challenge. It almost puts you on the same level as a police officer giving out parking tickets. It becomes a revenue situation."

"This would mean more manpower. A whole new section would be needed. Stricter laws would mean less prostitution only because of increased enforcement from police."

"If you were more restrictive, it would give more incentive for us to discourage it. And it would be less frustrating to law enforcement agencies."

For those who predicted no change to their job, the assumption was that no greater priority would be given to the prostitution problem, and hence no more police time would be allocated: only more convictions would result from the time presently spent. Those who suggested that even more control problems would result, were assuming the inevitability of the existence of prostitution, and the greater difficulty of enforcing harsher laws as the occupation in response moves underground and becomes less visible and more mobile. (The two police who predicted fewer problems were also coincidentally the same two who predicted that more restrictive laws would eliminate prostitution altogether.)

Approximately half the police who responded assumed that decriminalization, being basically what now exists in practice, would have no impact on their jobs.

"Decriminalize? That's more or less what's done now. We don't know what the hell to do with it. It won't make any difference to our work load. If we want to spend time on it we can. If we don't no one pressures us to. The Chief only wants to keep tabs on it because he has to report to the Mayor."

The other half assumed the police workload would increase as decriminalization would produce an increase in the number of women involved.

Legalization was seen to produce a variety of impacts on the police job. Those police who predicted that legalization would make no difference to the numbers of women involved, nor to the levels of violence, nor to the other criminal activities, also predicted no impact on their jobs. A large number of respondents, however, assumed that legalization would be accompanied by regulations governing legal participation in the business, and the police would be 'assigned' (most

felt they would be stuck with) the task of confirming that the regulations were being followed. For some, this would necessarily account for a major increase in workload, which none of the police felt should be part of their tasks.

"It wouldn't change much. We'd must become the little watchdogs for the government, running around making sure about licensing and so on."

"If you legalized it, you'd double the work load. You'd have to make a lot more routine checks of the legal operations just to ensure things are okay. And the problem of illegal activity on the street would still exist."

Those police who foresaw legalization reducing the control problems assumed that legalization would subsequently remove the women from the public streets, or at least restrict their activities to some form of 'red light district', one consequence being to reduce public complaints to a minimum, and the other, to restrict complaints to the less powerful members of the community, who could be more easily ignored.

B2. Advice for the Future

In relation to their advice for the future, police were asked two questions. One related to what must be done with the law to increase their success in obtaining convictions.

TABLE 55: CHANGES IN LAW TO INCREASE THE CONVICTION RATE

<u>Suggestions</u>	<u># of Police Who Raised the Suggestions</u>
Take 'pressing and persistent out of the solicitation laws	9
Bring back vagrancy laws	2
Make whatever law you use enforceable	9
Charge both prostitute and client	6
Make prostitution itself illegal	2
Total	<u>28</u>

Police were also asked what, if any, legal reforms, they would personally like to see in this area. And again, many responses were related to general goals for control and prevention, rather than to changes in laws that would have any impact on prostitution.

TABLE 56: SUGGESTIONS FOR LAW REFORM

<u>Suggested Changes</u>	<u># of Police Respondents Who Made Them</u>
Convict both prostitute and client	8
Stricter laws for pimps	8
Legalize it	6
More control over juveniles	5
Eliminate it	4
Clarify and simplify whatever law there is	3
Make solicitation unlawful and enforceable	3
Decriminalize	2
No change required	2
Total	<u>41</u>

The police demonstrated their widely varying opinions in their own words.

"Bring back vagrancy laws. They were at least an effective means for controlling levels of disease."

"Personally, I feel that a lot would give it up if they knew they'd be arrested and fined and imprisoned. Used to be a minor thing when we had the vagrancy laws. Now its a national disgrace."

"We need changes to all the laws to give greater control of pimps, customers, and prostitutes and equal sanctions for all."

"It's too damn hard to get the pimps, and it shouldn't be so."

"The emphasis should be on controlling the customer. They're the real problem."

"We need some sort of law concerning clients -- some say this might increase the incidence of sexual assaults, but I'd like to try stricter laws with regards to clients and see if it helps."

"Make the solicitation law stiffer for both prostitutes and client. Make it so we could actually charge them."

"Get rid of the pressing and persistent clause. Change the definition of solicitation. Maybe use the term 'approach' instead. Give the police specific parameters to work within."

"Give more power to police. Make more existing laws indictable, instead of summary. Emphasize bawdy house laws and charges. Make stricter laws dealing with pornography."

"To legalize it would mean licensing, medical examinations, health inspectors, operation as a big business. We've legalized lotteries and booze. This would probably be an asset. It couldn't get any worse."

"Legalization could only be positive, but this is nothing but a pipe dream because they'll never legalize it."

The large number of police who had no suggestion here reflects the widespread assumption that law reform is not the answer to making some impact on prostitution, and even that increased conviction rates will not eliminate the activity itself.

The only substantial expressed police consensus about the future, was prompted by the feelings of frustration over the ambiguity with which the society presently deals with prostitution, reflected in the laws which the police were expected to enforce at the time of the study, but found basically unenforceable.

"You have to have a law that you can enforce. You have to decide whether it's illegal or not."

"Make a decision one way or the other, so that we can get on with our work. We don't need this bullshit in between -- either make it an offence that can be charged, or legalize it."

"Shit or get off the pot. If it is going to be a criminal offense, give it some teeth. If you are going to legalize, it, control it and quit yapping."

Police were quick to identify what, in their opinion, was the basic hypocrisy involved in the whole issue of prostitution: that only that which is 'visible' bothers people, and secondly, that the clients are the very same citizens who express such concern over street prostitution. For this reason, many of the police respondents expressed little hope that any action would be taken that would substantially affect the availability of sexual services for sale.

"The city has legalized it as long as you are escorts, but they're down on street hookers. There's no real difference except you have to pay an

extra quarter for telephone calls. Richer people use escorts."

"Prostitution can't be stopped. It's too entrenched in society. There are too many middle and upper class citizens involved. The lower class don't have the money to support it."

"In a round-about way, it's legitimate people, they're on top, they're controlling it. Probably hotel people, promotion people, lawyers, businessmen."

C. THE WOMEN'S OPINIONS

Similar to police respondents, a large proportion (close to half) of the working women interviewed chose not to, or were not able to, comment on the potential impact of law reform on their lives and their business.

The women were asked:

"If the government [makes laws more restrictive (criminalizes), decriminalizes or legalizes] prostitution, how would this affect you?"

The form of the question was problematic for some, as many of the women were not familiar with the formal wording of present laws, but only knew what, in practice, was being done by police to affect their working lives. Many of our respondents had simply not thought about any possible futures, focusing instead on adjusting their lives from day to day. In contrast, there were approximately twenty women who expressed very clear opinions on what would occur if different types of law reform were to take place, and equally clear opinions on what should and should not be done.

C1. Perceived Impact of Three Types of Law Reform: More Restrictive Laws, Decriminalization, and Legalization

Not a single woman 'voted' for more restrictive laws (or what several of them referred to as criminalization). But they did describe some of the consequences of such a move by government. The potential results included less visibility (the business would go underground), increased violence, increased harassment by police, greater power to managers, more related illegal activities, longer and harsher working conditions for the women, more women losing their children (one way or another), and so on.

"Tighter laws might be o.k. for health control, but there would be more harassment on the street. It would be harder out there because of harassment on the street."

"Criminalization would only make it go underground, and things would get a lot worse."

"Pimps would make more money, there would be greater violence on the streets, more scared people because of an increase in illegal activities on the street. Kids would be doing more junk because there would be stricter control over their use of drugs, and everything would go underground."

"Criminalization would be a big hassle and it would hurt the women who have children and need to work, because you'd get more hassle from the cops."

"(Criminalization) would be the worst move. It would ensure that there would be no training and no support for those involved in prostitution, or those dealing with it (police). Prostitution is a very specific area -- it needs its own support system. You know you can turn a trick for more than minimum wage, and tightening up the laws isn't going to change that. Provide prostitutes with a means of earning a living wage. Provide them with loving, caring and understanding -- not sympathy and charity; and things will change. More restrictive laws will simply increase the danger on the streets for the persons who are prostituting. It will alienate them further from society which is definitely not the solution."

Not one woman assumed that making laws more restrictive would eliminate or even reduce the 'prostitution problem' in the long run, assuming instead (with the police respondents) that prostitution will exist no matter what the law is.

"No matter how tough the laws, we will have to make money and the government will be sorry if they legalize or decriminalize. You'll see hookers turn out, prices go down, girls will have to work twice as long and hard, and more years. There will be more cutthroats, they'd dress worse, take less care of themselves. And if you have stricter laws, the girls will still be there, and there'll be more bullshit."

"More restrictive laws are not going to affect the business. The business has been around longer than government. Police will have a harder job and will be tied up with hookers instead of looking for rapists. It will be more unsafe for kids on the street."

"If you criminalized, it might make it harder to work, but the demand would still be there, so you'd work. You'd find a way to get around the restrictions."

"If they make laws stricter, they still aren't going to get rid of the business. I don't see what the hassle is about. I think that we should be realistic and accept it as a legitimate business--like they do in Europe. Legalize it so that I don't have to worry about losing my kids because of what I do."

Legalization as an alternative produced much less unanimity of opinion. Seven women were in favour of legalization, with the strict proviso that an age-limit be included, so that only adults could be involved. Legalization to these women meant strict regulations about locations, prices, health and safety standards, regular occupational benefits such as holiday pay, overtime pay, Workman's Compensation and most importantly, recognition by society of prostitution as an occupation. They did not assume that legalization would prevent street hooking, or illegal prostitution, but that at least the majority of women involved would have legitimate recognition and equal protection. And most often stressed was the potential that legalization offered for ridding the street of pimps.

But even those women who favoured trying legalization were not assuming that it would work miracles for them.

"It would get rid of the pimps. Could start to teach the girls out there they they don't need a pimp. Sort of unbrainwash them. Let them know that the police are there for their protection just like everyone else."

"Legalization wouldn't change anything either. A lot would not get licensed. "

"Legalization would mean less visible violence, drugs and pimps, and less real disease. Both men and women would have to be licensed, but the

problems wouldn't really go away because you need money to buy a hooker. Drugs will still be a big part of it. Violence, drugs and pimps would all go underground and it would be less visible."

"Legalization would mean control and regulation; no pimps, no police harassment, work with the police instead of against them. Clients would be better controlled. The government would make money. It would provide better protection and it would be safe. The government should be seeking me out in their recession!"

"Society needs to relate to prostitutes as professionals providing an essential service. Prostitution with all of the amenities such as health care services, vacations, time off,, overtime; all the rest of the things that go with being employed in a legitimate occupation."

"It would have to be an area set up for prostitution out of town. No pimps would be allowed in the area. The prostitutes would have to be checked once a week. You might be able to confine it, but not really. It would still exist on the streets. You might have to set up 'boystowns' where a pass is needed to come and go. Society needs to grow up. A change of attitude need to take place. We don't educate society on so many things. Prostitution is necessary--it provides a legitimate service. I'm not sure legalization is the total answer. Prostitution needs to be recognized as a business, maybe legalization will do it. I doubt it though. Something else is necessary to make it legitimate."

When the women were asked what impact decriminalization would have on them, most equated decriminalization with approximately the conditions that existed in practice at the time of the study, and ten women 'voted' to leave things as they were.

One women voiced concern about the contradictory nature of 'real' decriminalization, i.e., no moral stigma attached to the occupation by law, but prohibitory rules and parallel sanctions in effect.

"Decriminalization is a stupid contradiction. You can be a prostitute, but you can't make money for it."

Two women noted one effect of having the distinction between prostitution being criminalized on the books, but not on the street

(the present condition) and having it completely decriminalized (moved from the Criminal Code, to regulation under some other form of provincial or municipal laws). They felt that the formal stigma still legally attached to prostitution does serve as a deterrent to some women, particularly younger girls.

"It (the present law) offers you some deterrent from going to the street to earn a living but the implementation of fines will simply mean an increase in fees for services rendered."

Only one woman suggested that the 'criminalized' status of prostitution produces the kind of excitement and challenge that would be a factor in keeping women in the occupation.

"I wouldn't like legalization. People would know what you are doing. It wouldn't be existing anymore. If it were criminalized, it would be harder to make money, but it may be a little more of a challenge to go out and make money and not get caught. You'd know then you'd accomplished something."

Although the women respondents expressed a variety of opinions about the potential impact of different legal changes, there was consensus that in the long run, no type of legal change would really affect their own lives. They would continue to be involved as long as they needed to be.

"No change would affect me. No matter what, the women are going to work."

C2. Advice for the Future

The women were given the opportunity to suggest changes other than through law reform. And all who made suggestions assumed that preventing women from entering the business of prostitution, and discouraging those presently involved from continuing, required major re-orientations in societal attitudes, and major re-structuring in resources available to women. At the same time, they all expressed the opinion that whatever is done, must be done in a non-paternalistic manner.

The need for a self-help facility (physical location plus services) run by prostitutes and ex-prostitutes was the main priority. Eight women specified the need for a place a prostitute can go for help when things get really bad, and when she wants to get out of the business. Women need access to knowledgeable lawyers and accountants and doctors. They need a counsellor who can help them manage with what they have, and

secondly, can help them escape what they have when they are ready and able.

"Support systems are definitely needed for prostitutes. There is no agency whether it be social services or an outside agency that deals with prostitution directly. I would live to have some type of underground escape for them. When I first left prostitution, I was terrified to go into a Safeway store. There was no one to call and talk to about how I felt. There was no one there who understood the terror I felt at having to walk in and buy groceries as just another woman, not a prostitute."

The women expressed the desire to 'take care of myself', but when they do need assistance, they want it to come from someone who knows about their lives.

C2.1 Specific Messages for the Government

When time and circumstances allowed, the women were offered this study as a channel of communication to government. They were told, near the end of the interview,

"Given the purpose of this research, what do you want to tell the committee* about prostitution?"

From the verbatim messages that follow, it is clear that every woman has some concerns and focuses which differ from the others, and yet, a perusal of all the comments, brings to light most of the major issues pinpointed throughout the study which concern the women who are selling sex.

"It's a job just like everyone else's job. People that are ignorant of the facts should learn about it. Prostitutes are some of the cleanest women I know. They are more aware about STD's. They know the facts about STD's, and the facts about prostitution, not the myths."

"As someone who is under eighteen, I'd like to say something about my life and prostitution. If you can support yourself before you are eighteen, you should be left alone to do it. If I want to work the street, that's up to me and no one else."

* The Fraser Committee on Pornography and Prostitution.

"1. That legalization would be the way to go.
2. "Start looking at our family structure and at how it is falling apart. The government has to start doing something about the runaways--give these kids some other options. 3. Put an age limit on it. I started when I was twenty-four. I had been married and knew what I was doing when I made my choice. Thirteen to seventeen years old is just too young to be out there. 4. Clean it up. Have the girls identified by the police. Issue them health certificates and demand that they have regular check-ups. Maybe have a red light district or something like that."

"Let us work and leave us alone."

"Just let me work by myself. I don't need pimps or hassles."

People should stop acting like prostitution can be swept under the rug. It should be legal like any other business. Stop acting like prostitutes are sex-craved maniacs. Prostitutes serve a useful purpose. Anonymity of going somewhere to get sex without emotional involvement is appealing to both men and women. The prostitute is a sex therapist, counsellor, friend and companion."

"It's a business. Treat it like a business. There is a demand for it. We provide a legitimate service. It's time people recognized that and started treating it like a business."

"Widespread public awareness of this research project with all the right intentions from "Justice" is necessary. Prostitution is a need--a high profile need. It's not to be buried and ignored. It needs to be taken into the schools and young women need to be informed of what prostitution is. I don't want it to be made a mockery of any longer. Many women are out there who aren't high profile--they don't deserve to be ignored any longer for what society has done. It is important to remember: There is no expert on prostitution. We all have a little knowledge, that is all we have."

"Prostitution is O.K. if you can get away with it. As long as you don't hurt somebody, it's okay. I don't see it hurting anyone. The guys get what they want, and the prostitutes get their money."

"It's a living. People raised on the street know what to do and how to handle situations. Even pimps know what they are doing. We are called street people because we get by. Some guys get jobs but they don't last, so end up back on the street. You do what you have to get by."

"I'm very concerned about juveniles prostituting themselves. This should be controlled. Also, we need tougher laws to apply to those living off the avails. Prostitution for those over sixteen is an easy way to make money. It is simply a job."

"Get the juveniles off the streets. It's a hard life for them."

"Get the kids out of it."

"Prostitution is not harmful to anyone except young kids."

"Leave us alone."

"You need to offer people a choice. Look at why people have to prostitute. Treat it like a job. Any other job. Set up an information center for women who work so they can get out if they want to, have a place to go when they need a break. Need to change people's attitudes towards working women. Change comes from education."

"You can't stop it. There is no way to tax it. There would be more violence if it were licensed because it would get rid of the good pimps. Pimps do take care of the girls."

"Being a working girl is a job. I do it for money. I can be home a lot with my kids. However, what needs to be changed are the cops' attitudes. I can still be raped, beaten, whatever, but most cops do not think that. I want them to know it is a job. I don't do it because I like it."

"I work like this to support my child and give him all the extras I can. I can also spend lots of time with him. I won't go on welfare. I doesn't matter what they do with the laws. I'll still work."

"If you really want to do something about it, you're going about it the wrong way in thinking of it in

terms of easier or harder. You don't see what you're doing. Give the girls the status of humans. You've got to give the girls a chance for a future to look forward to. As long as you put prostitutes down for what they do, they'll turn away from the system. It is easier for you to generalize and look down on prostitutes, instead of really looking into it--easier and less costly. The girls see how hypocritical it is--lawyers, doctors, politicians--they're all clients as well.

SECTION FIVE

SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS AND SPECIAL ISSUES

A. INTRODUCTION

At the time of this study, there were no 'special interest groups' whose major focus was street prostitution; no organization or easily identified network of people who provided services specifically to street prostitutes, or whose only goal was to lobby for or against the occupation. These types of groups would have been a rich source of descriptive information about the realities of street prostitution. But in their absence, we turned to groups who might be in any way involved with street prostitution because of some other service they provided. Contact was made with large numbers of community groups, few of whom could supply any accurate descriptions of street prostitution, but many of whom wished to express attitudes, concerns, and prescriptions for change. It is these ideas that are recorded in this section, with little editorial comment, categorization or evaluation.

During the study, bits of information were also gathered on groups such as homosexual prostitutes, women of native ancestry, and juveniles. None of this information is, however, either validated or generalizable. It is impressionistic and volatile, and may even be totally inaccurate for the majority of situations to which it refers. But it must not be lost. It is recorded in this section as the experiences and impressions of a small number of not-necessarily representative individuals.

B. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

None of the agencies contacted were involved with prostitutes just because they were prostitutes. In all cases, the agency or organization was providing some other service that the individual sought, either voluntarily or involuntarily. The services included emergency and long-term housing provision, medical/psychological services, drug and alcohol treatment, referral services, financial assistance, and counselling (personal and occupational). (A list of agencies contacted during the study appears in full in the appendix.)

None of the agencies kept any formal records of which of their clients were prostituting, although therapists involved in one-to-one counselling had records of which of their clients had admitted to involvement in street prostitution. Many were willing to guess about the total numbers of clients who were also prostitutes, but without systematic records, it is unreliable data.

Some of the respondents, particularly those attached to community medical clinics, crisis facilities, street-front organizations, and the Salvation Army, in particular, had first-hand knowledge about the experiences of one or two prostitutes. But this information came only

coincidentally to the relationship developed with the women because they had requested or were referred for some specific service. Respondents associated with community agencies focused on three major types of concerns about street prostitution.

B1. Quality-of-Life Issues

In all cases, community agencies were dealing with people in trouble: physically, emotionally, financially, legally, etc.. None of the respondents had even been aware of a woman who was involved in street prostitution because she enjoyed it. She was coerced by one process or another, and in the opinion of most respondents, the bottom line was usually a mixture of financial hardship and emotional needs. Once involved, the lifestyle itself was felt to be responsible for all the other problems which the women presented such as drug dependencies, venereal diseases, physical scarring, early aging, malnutrition, emotional instability and so on.

B2. Lack of Options

The generally poor quality of life that prostitutes were assumed to experience was laid at the door of one of two sources, or both together: exploitative males and inadequate financial/social programs in the community.

Exploitative males included not only pimps, but also incestuous, abusive older relatives, and later, the same type of partner, some police, and the majority of the clients. The inadequate services included particularly, unrealistically regulated social assistance programs, housing services, and employment services.

In many cases, the exploitation and inadequacy of services were seen to complement each other. For example, of the few respondents who were very familiar with a client who was a prostitute, all claimed that their clients had been abused physically (including sexually) as a child. However, cause for the prostitution was not attributed to the emotional trauma which likely resulted from the abuse. Instead, the abuse was seen to cause running away, which in turn, because of inadequate support services, led to life on the street, which in turn led to prostitution, either on an irregular/survival basis, or on a regular/occupational basis. The women had no apparent option, realistic in their situations.

The community agencies all worked on the assumption that anyone selling sexual services on the street, if given a viable option, would quit. Few of the community agencies were involved, however, in offering these options, themselves. Most provided maintenance services only.

B3. Focus on Juveniles

Although all respondents who worked with community agencies spoke against the conditions of street prostitution, they expressed their full 'wrath' against the existence of juvenile prostitution. Few had any illusions about stopping prostitution altogether, or of making changes that would impact greatly on the adult women presently involved. But all were abhorred at the very existence of juvenile prostitution.

Every respondent expressed the opinion that priority should be given to a support network applicable to juveniles, to get them off 'the streets'. The majority of juveniles who had been involved in prostitution were not referred to as professionals, but as victims, and in most cases, had run away, or as two respondents put it, had been 'thrown away'. The 'push' factors referred to were family poverty and family-based abuse. The 'pull' factors were the possibility of independence and the excitement of street life in an urban setting. Juveniles particularly were considered reluctant to discuss their activities related to prostitution, and so the data about the numbers of them who were clients of these agencies, who were involved in prostitution, is totally unreliable.

Most of the juveniles involved with these agencies were described as superficially tough and survival-oriented, initially unwilling to admit either their interest in, or their need for, any form of adult-based assistance. For this reason, community respondents recommended that any social services must be non-judgmental, not time-bound, and initiated by the juveniles themselves. Most basically, there must be temporary shelter facilities. Juveniles with no home base must have a 'safe' bed at night. Secondly, there must be facilities providing long-term shelter and a supportive/educational network. One of the major complaints of agency respondents was their inability to accomplish any long-term objectives because their young clients were so transient--the agencies had little to offer as a viable, alternative 'home-base'. Because of this, the commonly noticed problem of low self-esteem experienced particularly by the juveniles and especially the drug-dependent juveniles, could not be effectively tackled. In other words, the juvenile must be able to hang around voluntarily long enough to establish in their own minds, what their needs are and what problems and services they are willing to accept. At the present time, this was not occurring anywhere. Depending on the type of agency involved, each respondent gave priority to different problems of the juvenile prostitute (drug dependency, low self-esteem, emotional problems, lack of life skills, lack of employment-related skills, medical problems, spiritual problems, cultural problems, and so on), but they all agreed that intervention with the juvenile was the top priority.

B4 Impact of Law Reform

All the agency respondents believed in the futility of law reform as the 'solution' to prostitution, and particularly juvenile prostitution. Three granted the possibility that legalization (including licencing and health regulations) might make the occupation a little less violent because of their belief that pimps would no longer be involved, but they did not recommend legalization. Two others stated that, in their opinion, decriminalization would definitely open up the streets and promote even greater juvenile involvement. All agreed that there should not be any more restrictive laws than now exist, as they relate to adults (legally defined as those above a specific age, usually sixteen) but there must be stricter and enforceable laws against juvenile prostitution, particularly against those who are living off the avails of juveniles, and the clients of juveniles.

These respondents, as a group, expressed intense feelings against juvenile prostitution, particularly against those benefiting from it, and so as a group, were willing to support any variety of tactics, legal and otherwise, that might make any impact on reducing the numbers of juveniles involved in prostitution.

C. Male (Homosexual) Prostitution

Although during the course of interviews with the female sellers it was made known to us that some of our respondents were of homosexual orientation, only one admitted to ever selling sexual services to another female, although a few had been involved with mixed couples. At the time of the study, in the Prairie Region, homosexual prostitution meant males selling sexual services to males.

In one of the cities studied, no one we talked to, including members of the homosexual community, were aware of any males regularly involved in street prostitution, and no one had any information that they were willing to share with us, on juvenile males in street prostitution. There were a handful of homosexual males who worked 'thorough escort agencies, and out of the local gay club, but basically, the activity was invisible to the public, and sparse. The police were not aware of extensive violence related to homosexual prostitution, not had there yet been any major scandals involving either adult or juvenile homosexual prostitution.

In the two larger cities, however, street-based homosexual adult prostitution was known and visible. Each city had its homosexual zone, but at the time of the study, there was little publicly visible evidence of juvenile male prostitution, although rumors were that juveniles were locating clients in the respective gay clubs, in specified bookstores, and in certain public washrooms.

In each city we interviewed some combination of representatives of the gay community, males involved in prostitution, and employees/members of the local gay club. The numbers of respondents are so small that little of what was related to us can be generalized. Even the data from the male escorts and prostitutes themselves was speculation on their part.

C1. Police Knowledge and Behavior

Police in each city were asked questions about males selling sexual services to other males, and their knowledge ranged from none at all, to just developing. There was much variation from one police force to another around this topic.

In Saskatoon, officers interviewed knew that homosexual males as a group, cluster in one park located along the banks of the river, but no one was sure how much prostitution occurred there, if at all. There was really no knowledge made available to us by police about the number of male escorts, nor about the role, if any, of the local gay club in male prostitution. Consequently, not even an estimate of the numbers involved was produced. The impression obtained during the study in Saskatoon was basically non-involvement by police.

In contrast, in Winnipeg, the police appeared to have a hands-off philosophy coupled with reactive policing when absolutely necessary. Some years prior to this study, city police had been centrally involved in making public the names of several prominent Winnipeg citizens who had been involved with male prostitutes. Since that time (whether or not for that reason) relations between the police and the gay community in general appear to have been tenuous, even tense. Many of the police we interviewed referred to people with a homosexual orientation in terms usually considered derogatory. Police do drive through the river-side park area where male prostitutes work, but not nearly as often as they patrol the female prostitution area. The police did not make it apparent that they had any specified policy in relation to homosexual prostitution, whether in response to the prostitutes themselves, their clients, or those who cruise the area and physically assault male prostitutes and other male homosexuals who frequent the park, (an activity known as "queer-bashing"). Police do respond to specific citizen complaints, and some individual officers spoke about their attempts to discourage juvenile males from becoming involved or remaining involved in prostitution, but the latter officers were usually attached to either the juvenile unit, or the child abuse unit. Police estimates of the numbers of male prostitutes involved ranged up to a high of fifty in the summer.

Again, in contrast, the Calgary city police might be called pro-active in their approach to policing the gay community in general and the male prostitute in particular. The force has a Gay Liaison Officer, some of

whose main tasks are to be fully informed about the needs and experiences of the gay community, to further positive working relationships between people of homosexual orientation and the police, in general, and to assist members of the gay community to better protect themselves against illegal activities against them. As part of this focus, the officer was, at the time of this study, attempting to re-locate male prostitution from a poorly-lit, unpatrolable area where a lot of physical assaults were being carried out on homosexual prostitutes, to a better lit, easily patrolled area. The focus of uniformed officers patrolling the streets appears to be on juvenile males, who are identified and taken to boys' homes, and on males, particularly juveniles, who are will and need medical assistance. The pro-active policies and procedures were just under development at the time of the study, but the few comments from the gay community were positive. Police estimates of the numbers of males involved in street prostitution in Calgary ranged from twelve to twenty males.

C2. General Impressions from Homosexual Male Prostitutes

Give the sparse data base, and what appears to be the relatively smaller involvement of males in contrast to females, in prostitution in the Prairie Region, this section must be written (and read) as a series of sometimes unrelated, and always unvalidated 'snippets' of information. These basic impressions will await validation only through an in-depth study which focuses on males involved in prostitution.

- Homosexual males involved seriously in prostitution should not be mistaken for straight males (usually aged twelve - seventeen) who sell oral sexual services to other men for money, or with homosexual males (also usually young) who are having sex with another male (usually older) for pleasure, but coincidentally receive some variety of gifts for their involvement (such gifts including money). Often these older, male, homosexual partners are well-established financially, and reward their younger partners to maintain their interest. Neither of these two latter relationships are considered by members of the gay community to be homosexual prostitution.
- Male prostitution, whether the seller is gay or not, is referred to as HUSTLING, and the clients are referred to as TRICKS. The contact and activity occurs to some extent in public and commercial-establishment washrooms, in bathhouses, in some restaurants, in straight and gay bars, in select bookstores, and in a more public way, on the streets. (In two cities, the public area was parkland within the city; in the third city, the public area was adjacent to high-rise, expensive residential apartment buildings.) Only the homosexual males will work out of, or

around known gay establishments (bars, clubs, one known bookstore, etc.).

- The males are predominantly caucasian. Only three to four males of native ancestry were identified in each of Winnipeg and Calgary, and none in Saskatoon. The average age of the male prostitutes is seventeen to eighteen years.
- The average visible age of the client is forty to sixty years of age, with the male prostitute being poor, and the client being economically middle or upper class. (One respondent had serviced lawyers, medical doctors, priests and politicians from his own local community.) Several clients are married with children. Most are caucasian. Many are regulars.
- Neither the sellers or the buyers use alcohol or drugs to any great extent while 'on the job', but there is a lot of drug trafficking and use in the lives of male prostitutes.
- There is little or no 'pimping' involved in male prostitution, so negotiation occurs between seller and buyer over the service, the time, and the prices, producing a wider range in the market. Oral sex might be given for anything range from a bed for the night in the winter, to a case of beer, to cash from \$10.00 to \$80.00. A hand-job or mutual masturbation would be in the same price range. Anal sex, which very few of the males are willing to perform, costs anything from \$80.00 and up. The 'better-looking' males can earn up to \$500 or \$600 in one night, and can be 'permanently' hired by one man with whom they may travel, as well as attend a variety of social functions in order to be shown off.
- In the main public areas of male prostitution, little distinction is made between those homosexuals who are hustling, and those who are there to pick up 'free' sexual partners ('freebies'). If one who doesn't want to pay is approached by a hustler, he simply says he doesn't want to pay, and he waits until a freebie comes along.
- Most sexual services provided by male prostitutes occur in the client's car, but they may occur along treed and secluded sections of the riverbank in the two cities where they work in a river-side park.
- The working habits of the men are affected the same way by the seasons, and the days of the week and the hours, as the female sellers.
- Clients are seldom physically or sexually abusive, with the exception of the occasional drunk clients, or richer clients in

the winter, when business is slow, and competition for money is high.

- The major violence experienced by male homosexual prostitutes is from 'queer-bashers', straight males who cruise the gay areas, and attack male prostitutes.
- On a warm summer night, the ratio of male prostitutes to clients seeking their services may be one to three. (Clients may 'cruise' on foot or in cars.)
- Male prostitutes are assumed to have poor relations with the police. The sellers claim police are discriminatory, in their provision of protection to homosexual prostitutes, and are derogatory in their treatment of the male when in custody, or being questioned. Police are also said to harass the clients on the few occasions that they enter the area, by giving out parking tickets, taking down license plates, and in the process, make the client stop his car and remain in place in full view for a lengthy time.

D. People of Native Ancestry Involved in Prostitution

Although singling out people of native ancestry (Treaty Indians, non-status Indians, Metis, and other mixed blood ancestry) may be called discriminatory, relevant analysis of street life in the Prairie Region, where native people compose up to 35% of the population in some urban areas, requires at least a determination of whether or not their participation differs as a group from others. In other areas of life, in the Prairie region, native people already have special status, special programs, and special problems. We had to try to determine whether there was anything special about their involvement in prostitution.

Almost without exception, we failed to gain street access to native women selling sexual services on the street. As a last resort, we gained access to such respondents by attending them at their places of incarceration, where they were serving sentences for non-prostitution related offenses. So, we failed to obtain the kind of data which would allow us to speak with statistical and substantive significance, and to stand behind the data under charges of discrimination. However, we cannot bury the impressions and opinions of the people who confided their street knowledge to us. As with the part of this section on male prostitution, this segment of people of native ancestry must be written and read as unvalidated, segmental pieces of information, awaiting later rejection or further confirmation.

D1 Female Sellers

The presence of what appeared to be women of native ancestry selling sexual services on the street of urban centers in the Prairie region seemed related to the nearness of reserves, the size of the reserves, and the degree of economic prosperity of the reserves. The closer the resources, and the poorer the reserves, the more native women were involved in prostitution in the cities. In Regina, for example, native women may be in the majority of those in prostitution. In Saskatoon, it may be close to 50%. In Prince Alberta, they appear again to be in the majority. In contrast, in Calgary, surrounded by Indian reserves with buoyant economies, the native women prostituting are a small minority of the women involved (approximately 10%). In Winnipeg, the proportion again rises to approximately 40%. These approximations arise from police opinion, the women's opinions, and through observation during the study. Estimates from all three sources were all very close.

The larger the city, the more clear-cut the physical segregation of the areas in which native and non-native women worked. In Prince Albert and Saskatoon, although native women tended to work more in certain blocks than others, there was little enforced segregation. In Regina, the segregation was present, and enforced, sometimes physically, by the native women themselves. In Winnipeg and Calgary, the separation between the native and non-native zones was also well-known and 'respected' by most, although in Winnipeg, several respondents said that some native women did try working in the non-native zone, but returned. It was said that 'they did not get along'. The enforcement there seemed less direct and less physical, but accomplished predominantly through ostracism, by the non-native women.

The experiences and situations in which there are implications of group-based differences are listed below, coming from police impressions, impressions of non-native prostitutes, community agency workers, and most importantly, from the native respondents themselves.

Native women

- Were the only ones to refer to themselves as street people.
- Were the only ones to refer to themselves and other native prostitutes as BROADS.
- Were the only ones that specified that they would not sell sex to a male of NATIVE ANCESTRY, in case he was a blood relative, or because it showed a lack of respect for elders.
- Appeared to be on the average, younger than non-native women.

- Made less frequent use of medical services, and in most cases, no use of other forms of social services, as compared with non-native women.
- Were more likely to be physically violent towards other women, and their pimps, than non-native women.
- Have a greater number of convictions for criminal and non-criminal, non-prostitution related offences than non-native women.
- (of our respondents), more frequently refused to provide oral sex, than non-native women, who more frequently refused to provide sexual intercourse.
- (in Calgary and Winnipeg) charged less for equivalent services and made less money than non-native women.
- Were not involved in dancing/stripping as an access to clients.
- Were more heavy uses of prescription drugs and alcohol WHILE ON THE JOB than non-native women.
- Were more likely to have been turned out as a juvenile (under 16 years) and by an exploitative pimp (usually a native, a boyfriend, and often the father of her first child), or by example, from an older sister or female cousin, than non-native women.
- Were more likely to have experienced violent assaults at the hands of customers, and were more likely to have initiated thefts from customers, than non-native women.
- Were more likely to have witnessed, first-hand, more violence of all kinds, including murder, than non-native women.
- Were more likely to have had children at a younger age, than non-native women.
- Were more likely to have experienced abuse at home, and more likely to have run away, and more likely to have had foster home experiences (one respondent had lived in twelve foster homes in a three-year period) than non-native women.
- Were less likely (almost unlikely) to work in escort agencies or body-rub parlors than non-native women.
- Were more likely to be managing juvenile female native prostitutes themselves, than non-native women.

- Were more likely to have been physically and emotionally and socially abused by police, and in turn, were more likely to have been everything from unco-operative and non-verbal, to physically violent with police, than non-native women.

If many of these statements were able to be validated through further study, they would demonstrate some clear-cut differences in experiences between natives and non-native female sellers in the Prairie region, and many of the differences cannot be accounted for with other than a racially-based explanation, i.e., native women are treated differently because they are native. In this report, however, the above statements can only be treated as hypotheses to be tested through further study.

D2. Managers and Clients

We gathered direct data from only two managers of native ancestry, and none at all from clients of native ancestry. The two managers were brothers, and were interviewed in a maximum security federal penitentiary. They both came from the same city, and had been 'pimps' for many years. Although much of what they told us may or may not be representative of managers who are natives, they did verify some impressions that were also shared with us by both native and non-native female respondents.

One characteristic that appears almost completely restricted to managers of native ancestry, is the family involvement. Particularly in Saskatchewan, where most of the native managers are found, prostitution management centers around identified family groups, composed of several brothers, or brothers and cousins, or a senior man (father) and some brothers and cousins (all males). Street prostitution in each of Regina, and Saskatoon, and Prince Albert (all in Saskatchewan) is said to be controlled by between two and four known families in each city, some of whom co-exist with each other comfortably, having split up the streets into family territories, and others who exist in constant conflict and tension. In Saskatchewan, native managers are known to control simultaneously, women of both native and non-native ancestry.

A second assumed characteristic is that native managers are more centrally involved in a wider variety of other criminal activity for money, than non-native managers, who are perceived to live more exclusively off the money from the women they control. Consequently, more native managers have criminal records, and spend more time incarcerated, than do non-native managers. (When one is incarcerated, other members of his family supervise his women for him. That way his name and his reputation do not disappear from the street.)

Thirdly, the native manager is said to be more intricately involved in a barter network with legitimate members of the society (exchanging sexual services provided by his women, for lawyers and doctors services, for example), than managers of non-native ancestry.

Fourthly, although native managers are thought to make more frequent use of violence for control over their women, they are said to use less extreme violence, but rather to engage in minor 'lickings', and the women themselves are more likely to hit back. They are seen, however, to be potentially very violent with people with whom they are in conflict, resorting frequently to murder. This assumption would coincide with that about the lives of the women prostitutes, i.e., a greater presence of physical violence of all kinds.

The only piece of information we obtained about clients of native ancestry, was that they did purchase the services of street prostitutes (non-native) and that they did use the services of escort agencies, where they were considered to be the most co-operative and least complaining of clients.

We did not have time during this study to document what traditional Indian attitudes and values were concerning prostitution, but one informant in Calgary, who worked closely with Blackfoot, Sioux and Blood Indians, related the following to us:

"If an Indian girl becomes a prostitute, she exiles herself from her people. I only know of one case where a girl was allowed back (to the reserve). The Indian people consider that she has chosen her way of life and they don't have anything to do with it. There are not many Indian hookers in Calgary, and when one starts, it gets back to the community pretty fast. There is a great deal of control because of the closeness of the Indian community out here. The Sioux legend of harlotry is the most awful legend I have ever heard. Poverty does not breed prostitution here, either. They do not throw their daughters out to bring in money. The community is close and even in the city, they just won't eat before they'd do that. It would be the girl's own choice and an unlikely one at that. What is a prostitute anyway? If a woman is selling her body in order to get a room for the night in the winter, is that prostitution? Is it doing it for money, or doing it with several men? In some Indian cultures, a couple lives together until a child is born, and then they get married. This is their marriage practice and is very different from the white community. In one situation, there was a clash between police knowledge and Indian culture.

The police thought this woman promiscuous because she was sleeping with a lot of different guys. She was trying to find a suitable husband, had already gone through one bad marriage, and was 'testing' them out to make sure they were suitable. Her husband had abducted their daughter and took her to Edmonton and put her in a house with four prostitutes. This was his source of income. The cultural clash was important because the mother was fighting for the custody of their child. . . . The Indian girls who actually become hookers in Calgary, they're alienated from both societies."

Beyond the impressions of attitudinal and behavioral differences between natives and non-natives already listed previously, this study can throw no further light on what may be a very crucial factor in any attempt to develop a national response to prostitution, i.e., the quantity and quality of the impact of cultural differences dealing with human sexuality.

E. JUVENILE PROSTITUTION

The focus of this study was on adults involved in prostitution, and so no systematic data is available on the attitudes or actions of people under the age of sixteen. References to, and comments about juveniles in prostitution are scattered throughout this report, as they appeared relevant to other issues. The one important fact to register here is that although there was a wide variety of attitudes and actions recorded during the study, the one variable that elicited the greatest commonality of response, was a prostitute's age. Police, sellers of both genders, and community workers (in fact all respondents except two hookers under sixteen (one male and one female) wanted juvenile prostitution stopped, by whatever combination of means available. Everyone expressed varying degrees of concern for juveniles regardless of gender, class, ethnicity, location, experience, or reasons for involvement.

Police expressed indignation at the recently activated Young Offenders Act because they had not yet found a way to use it to get young prostitutes off the street. Most officers indicated that they would go to great lengths to get a juvenile off the street, emphasizing their referral to parents, social service agencies, foster homes, friends, or any other alternative to formal legal processing, including a complimentary bus ticket out of town.

Adult female respondents (prostitutes) stressed a need for stricter legal controls accompanied by provision of safe and practical alternatives acceptable to the youths themselves. Some of this concern may have been in the spirit of eliminating competition, which was one

factor admitted by a few of the women. However, even those women who had been 'turned-out' themselves as juveniles, insisted that street prostitution was not for the young. Suggestions for legalization always were accompanied by a demand for an age limit. Juvenile prostitutes were generally seen by the older women respondents as the primary target for exploitative pimps, abusive customers, bureaucratized social service workers, and authoritarian police.

"I blame social service agencies for much of the prostitution among juveniles. Most juvenile prostitutes are runaways, they have few legitimate places (safe houses) to go. You have to set up shelters for runaways juveniles, establish special education and job training for kids, nail the pimps who get kids involved in prostitution and nail the customers who seek the services of juveniles."

Community agency workers expressed the frustration of trying to solve a difficult socio-economic problem with something as comparatively simple as law reform, and stressed the need for any developments to reflect the attitudes and opinions of the kids themselves.

The majority of the juveniles involved were not accessible to us, partly because of time, and partly because some were still at least formally registered in school, some were in some form of secure facility, and some still were under the jurisdiction of their parents. We were told of women as young as nine years of age, but talked only to women who themselves had started at twelve, or who were still late juveniles at the time of the study. Some of these young men and women were emotionally and physically ill, aged before their time, and with little reaction other than defense. Others appeared tough and street-wise, demanding that they be left alone to do as they had chose. Others were so affected by years of sniffing glue that they could no longer communicate, or identify their surroundings. For most, however, it might be said that their involvement in prostitution itself was the very least of their problems.

SECTION SIX

METHODOLOGY

A. THE RESEARCH TEAM

The study was carried out by one co-ordinator, and five research assistants. All were Sociologists by training. All were living in the city of Saskatoon at the time of the study. The proposal and basic design of the study, as well as the selection and training of the five research assistants, were undertaken by the research co-ordinator. All members of the team participated in the design and modification of the interview guides. During the pre-test period (described later), the researchers all engaged in interviews in Saskatoon. When the team moved to Winnipeg for three weeks, the co-ordinator and four researchers initiated the field study there. When the project moved to Calgary, the same four researchers did the interviewing there, while the co-ordinator and the fifth researcher travelled to Prince Albert, Saskatchewan to interview male inmates incarcerated in Saskatchewan Penitentiary, a maximum-security, federal, protective custody institution; and female inmates incarcerated in Pine Grove Correctional Center for Women, a provincial institution. The research assistants were involved in the preliminary demographic analysis of the data. The co-ordinator was responsible for the substantive analysis, and the writing of the final report.

B. THE 'PRE-TEST' PERIOD - SASKATOON

The cities chosen for the study were Calgary, Saskatoon and Winnipeg; one from each of the three Prairie Provinces.* Saskatoon was to serve as the site of methodological development and pre-testing.

Meetings were held between the co-ordinator and the research assistants to discuss techniques of interviewing, the ethics of research in general, the implications and obligations of contractual research, the ultimate goals of the study, the potential barriers to achieving those goals, the potential dangers both to the research team, and to those willing to talk, and expectations and channels of communication shared by the research team as a working unit.

The research tools were developed by the group as a whole, designed to be specific to the Prairie Region, but to complement as closely as possible, the instruments being used in the other four studies across the country. Instruments were devised for police, prostitutes, clients, pimps, business people, and community workers.

*Because several of the female sellers had lived and worked in Regina as well, occasional references in the report are made to conditions in Regina.

Ads were placed in the local newspaper, requesting participants for the study. (See Appendix.) A postal box and an anonymous telephone answering service were activated to provide for confidential replies. Special insurance was purchased to protect the research assistants for the duration of the study.

Formal contact was made with the Saskatoon City Police, followed by meetings between the research team and relevant officers, to organize the sampling of police respondents, 'ride-alongs' for the researchers, and the co-ordination of our schedules with police shift work. The police were co-operative, but did retain some influence over the respondents who would be best able to contribute to the study.

Community agencies were sent letters of introduction, accompanied by questionnaires they could return, and invited as well to phone, if they were willing to further discuss the topic of prostitution. Those community agencies that the research team assumed would know something factual about prostitution were also personally contacted by phone, and their workers/members were interviewed in person. (A list of all those contacted by one form or other in each city appears in the Appendix.)

The prostitution interview guides were 'pre-tested' with four female sellers, all of whom volunteered to not only answer the questions, but to comment upon the language, the relevance, the completeness, etc.

The research assistants accompanied police on 'ride-alongs', walked the streets, observed in hotel bars, and attended the Gay Club.

On the basis of the data gathered in Saskatoon, modifications were made to the interview guides for prostitutes, police, and community agencies.

Several processes were also either dropped or modified on the basis of the Saskatoon experience, as follows:

- Newspaper ads and the telephone answering service were costly and non-productive of useful contacts, and were discontinued.
- The decision was made to continue the mailing to the community agencies at least in Winnipeg, but if we wanted to obtain their co-operation personal contact was necessary.
- 'Ride-alongs' proved to have the disadvantage of associating the research team too directly with the police, and would be used only with great caution in Winnipeg and Calgary.
- We discovered that the interview guides could not be followed rigorously, and that there would be circumstances where either the interview would simply not be finished, or certain questions could not be asked. Discretion was left to the individual researchers.

- The research team came to the realization that most people knew little or nothing about the reality of the occupation of prostitution, although everyone had opinions. It was decided that in Winnipeg and Calgary, priority would be given to obtaining intensive interviews with the most informed respondents. Those who had experience tended to validate what others with experience were saying, indicating that numerous interviews with people with similar experiences (or lack thereof) would be a waste of valuable time.
- Because of the pattern of discretionary handling of the interview schedule which arose in Saskatoon, the data would not be rigorously comparable. Consequently, it was agreed to combine the pre-test data with data from the other two cities, as a valid contribution to the study.

While instrument development and pre-testing was taking place in Saskatoon, the administrative preparation was underway for the research team to travel to Winnipeg and Calgary. This included arrangements for flights, hotels, initial meetings with police, office space, initial contacts with community groups, as well as the preparation of a supply of new (modified) interview guides.

C. "IN THE FIELD" IN WINNIPEG

The co-ordinator and four research assistants travelled to Winnipeg, leaving the fifth assistant to continue data collection in Saskatoon. We located in a downtown hotel within walking distance of the prostitution zone.

Our first meeting was with a very large InterAgency group, where we were able to introduce ourselves and our purpose very quickly to a wide variety of interested social service agencies, many of whom served later as either informants or as liaison to other respondents. They were all very co-operative. Our second meeting was with the Vice division of the Winnipeg Police where we repeated the arrangements we had had with the Saskatoon police, gaining co-operation and basically free access to any member of the department that we could agree would have some information to share.

In Winnipeg, the researchers undertook observation and interviewing in police cars, in their hotel rooms, in bars, on the street corners, in restaurants, in drop-in centres for transients, in the local Gay Club, and on 'the hill' (the zone of male prostitution).

While in Winnipeg, contact was also initiated with Probation and Parole officers, hoping for leads to people still under supervisory sentences who had experience in the world of prostitution. These contacts produced none.

The research team had small business cards printed, containing the name of the project and the names of the four researchers, upon which they could write their phone number, and which could be easily distributed to people on the street.

'Free' advertising was provided to the project in both the cities of Saskatoon and Winnipeg through news articles about the study in the local newspapers.

Winnipeg was a good city to indicate the unpredictable conditions of the research field. For example, during the time of the study in Winnipeg, it was said that men from Revenue Canada were on the street, talking to prostitutes about their prices and counting the number of tricks they took in one night. Part way through the three-week period in Winnipeg, we were told that the word was out not to talk to us because we were 'government', too. After that time, we had no further cooperation from the women concerning information about prices, number of tricks in a night, number of nights worked in a week, and so on.

An escort by-law was being contested in a Winnipeg court while we were there, and there appeared to be a minor hepatitis epidemic.

The police had (just prior to our arrival) arrested several members of a local motorcycle club on drug charges, and we were told (with no suitable explanation), that the streets were unusually quiet. These types of conditions all were uncontrollable, and probably affected the types of respondents, who co-operated, and the types of observation we were able to make. But we could not determine their effects.

D. 'IN THE FIELD' IN CALGARY

Between the time in Winnipeg, and the three weeks in Calgary, the travelling members of the research team returned to Saskatoon for at least two full days each. All were experiencing in their own ways, some degree of homesickness, 'culture' shock, and the stress of not being able to share their experiences with friends or family.

The first meeting in Calgary took place between four researchers and the city police, who like the others, were completely co-operative and willing to share information with us.

Calgary did not have a parallel organization of community agencies, but the researchers were able to establish contact with those social service providers who knew something about prostitution. No letters were issued to agencies in Calgary, as the return rate on this form of contact was minimal in both Saskatoon and Winnipeg. The researchers were now more familiar with the most fruitful possibilities for contacts, and followed these possibilities with personal contacts alone.

The hotel in Calgary served as office space, observation post, interview room and residence. It was situated within viewing distance of one of the 'hookers' strolls'.

In Calgary, contact was established with Parole and Probation Service Officers, resulting in one male respondent who was still under sentence. Attempts were made to gain access to one male inmate in Drumheller Institution who was rumored to have been controlling a juvenile prostitution ring, but he refused to co-operate. Calgary also yielded a female impersonator.

Calgary City Police had a Gay Community Liaison Officer, from whom much of our information about the Gay community and male prostitution, came.

Although all three cities were, of course, unique in many ways, the sameness about the basic conditions in the occupation of prostitution, from one city to the next, was producing a slow burn-out of the research team. The people who would talk, were repeating what we had heard before. And the people who refused to talk were refusing for the same reasons.

E. INTERVIEWING IN PRISON

Access to Saskatchewan Penitentiary (Federal) and Pine Grove Correctional Centre for Women (Provincial) was granted most co-operatively.

The main reason the study moved inside prison walls was because we were failing to persuade pimps and clients to talk to us when they were still free on the street, and a parallel situation existed with any respondent of native ancestry. Both prisons were chosen partly because they were within driving distance of the base of the research team. But Saskatchewan Penitentiary was also a Protective Custody institution at the time, and had a higher chance of housing people who were 'rounders', i.e. generally involved in serious illegal street activities and so having some degree of familiarity with the world of prostitution. Pine Grove Correctional Center for Women, housed anywhere from 60% - 100% women of native ancestry. In fact, any prison in the province of Saskatchewan, whether holding males or females, had a large proportion of inmates of native ancestry.

In each case, after formal authority was obtained to interview inmates, prison staff were asked to locate inmates who, because of their records and files, might be informed about the occupational world of prostitution. Each inmate (chosen by prison staff) who consented to talk to us, then signed a voluntary consent statement (See Appendix.) which in turn was witnessed by the prison staff. In all interviews, without exception, no one was present in the closed room but the respondent and the interviewer.

The inmates who volunteered were reminded that their participation was voluntary, that they did not have to answer any questions if they chose not to, and they could leave the interview at any point. Twelve male inmates and twelve female inmates, were interviewed. Each interview lasted an average of three hours (meaning an average of one and a half per interviewer per half day, taking into account the routines of the prison, for meal times, and counts and lock-ups and other activities).

All of the respondents, were basically co-operative to the best of their ability. Because much of their life was already 'public' knowledge, they shared details about their own involvement in a variety of illegal activities with the interviewers, and they showed no hesitation about relating the illegal activities of others with whom they had been involved, including police.

Because their numbers were so small, the prison respondents' information could not be handled quantitatively, but it contributed in two basic ways to the data gathered from other respondents.

1. The respondents served as living examples (or cases) of the types of people that others told us about, but that would never have talked to us on the street. Their life histories validated the stories told by others.
2. Their willingness to share explicit details with us about their experiences related to the world of prostitution, including names and places, gave the research team an even greater awareness of the 'tapestry' of street life, and of how the tapestry was woven of threads from both 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' worlds.

F. REMAINING HUMAN

The research team was fully aware that research done on the lives of other humans can be easily affected by the human idiosyncracies of the researchers themselves. Care was taken, both through initial sensitization, and through regular cautions, that interviewers remained as 'objective' as possible. But the types of experiences that occurred, affected them all in immeasurable ways.

They were mistaken for call girls in their own hotel. They were threatened by the presence of guns and knives in uncontrolled settings. Drunk police officers drove them around. Cab driver/pimps tried to 'turn them out'. They were caught in the middle of an armed robbery. Overwhelming feelings of anger, fear, disgust, and nausea had to be controlled until the privacy of the hotel room. Illegal knowledge strained moral principles and human obligations. Over and over, hard-won arrangements for interviews fell through. They even stuck to the chairs in sleazy bars!

But, good experiences must have outweighed the bad, because no one quit before the data collection was complete. So many people were co-operative and friendly. The research team learned to live together, and provide its own internal self-support systems. And, everyone learned a great deal more about themselves and the world. How all of this affected the data recorded here will never be known, but the people doing the research survived. Our hope is that the same is true for those who often risked their lives to talk to us.

SECTION SEVEN

APPENDIX

A. GLOSSARY

- 'After-hours' bar - A bar/nightclub which continues to sell liquor after the legal time limit has passed. (Frequented by working girls, pimps, drug dealers, bikers, hotel service people, cabbies and police.)
- 'Airhead' - A prostitute who is heavily drugged during business hours (is said to be willing to do unusual things, makes a lot of money, but gets hurt frequently).
- 'Badger Games' - The intentional robbing of customers with no provision of sexual services. Usually involving more than just the prostitute.
- 'Baseman' - A street level drug dealer (supplier to pimps).
- 'Bills' - Tricks or customers (with reference to paper money being called bills).
- 'Boogie' - American term for running away from home.
- 'Cashing in' - Paying the pimp.
- 'Chipping' - Undercutting the going price, charging less than others for the same service.
OR
- using heroin only once or twice a week.
- 'Clipping' - To "rip-off" a customer (take money and do nothing, or take all money, or take money and provide only a partial service).
- 'Cracking' - To approach a customer and offer to sell sexual services.
- 'Cut you up' - to denigrate you verbally, say bad things about what you are doing, or your life style in general.
- 'Duke it out' - fight fist-to-fist; no weapons, one-on-one.
- 'Free-house' - A facility whose location is not publicly known or advertised, where a prostitute can go if she needs a rest, protection, or is trying to quit the business. Not known to pimps; preferably located in a rural or suburban setting.

- 'Gamed' - being set up or conned or swindled by a female hooker, or possibly by another manager.
- 'Gear-box' - Homosexual customers who purchase young males.
- 'Golden-shower' - The act of a prostitute urinating on a customer.
- 'H.O.'ing' - Holding out (keeping some money back; not giving it all to the pimp).
- 'Harness Bulls' - Uniformed police officers.
- 'Heat score' or 'hot score' - a group, or person or activity that draws unwanted police attention (used in reference to bikers)
- 'Ho' - (Pronounced hoe) Hooker; a derogatory term for prostitute used by pimps.
- 'Homegirl' - A woman who hangs around the streets, but doesn't turn tricks.
- 'Hot Lunch' - The act of a prostitute defecating on a customer.
- 'Hustlers' - Young male prostitutes who sell sexual services to males.
- 'Lickings' - A physical beating usually involving slapping around, boots and fists, with no weapons; or with crude weapons, such as a rolled-up newspaper or a hot wire clothes hanger, administered to hookers by managers.
- 'Lock'er in' - Possess a hold on a prostitute because of information about her.
- 'Mark in' - To get an individual involved in prostitution.
- 'New bait' - a new woman on the street, preferably young.
- 'Outlaw' - A woman who survives on the streets, doing odd jobs for money (predominantly into delivering or selling drugs, recruiting women for pimps, turning a few tricks, protecting the women for money, robbing customers etc.).
- 'Player' - A manager or pimp.

- 'Poison Box' - The area where the mind-altering prescription drugs are kept in a drugstore.
- 'Queer-bashing' - Acts of violence committed against gay males who are on the streets in an area known for homosexual contacts, by groups of non-gay males.
- 'Rat' - One who informs to the police about others' illegal activities.
- 'Rounder' - a person generally involved in illegal activities common on the street. (Dealing in drugs, shoplifting, fraud, etc.)
- 'S.T.D.' - Sexually-transmitted diseases.
- 'Scope' - Pimps check out a potential prostitute to see how 'solid' she is.
- 'Smoke' or 'weed' - Marijuana.
- 'Spot' (for someone) - To be the person informed by a prostitute, where she is taking her trick (usually another prostitute).
- 'Stable' - The group of women who all 'cash in' to the same manager or pimp.
- 'Sticks' - Police who are not known as police on the street, so they can be used as decoys or undercover agents.
- 'Stroll' (the) - The area where street hookers work.
- 'Stunting' - Charging a prostitute for stepping off the sidewalk on to the road, and distracting motorists. (Attracting attention of users of the roadways usually results in a \$25 fine.)
- 'Turn-out' - To get an individual involved in prostitution.
- 'Whore Tour' (the) - The area where street hookers work.

B. CASE STUDIES

B1. CASE #1

"Joe"
(a regular 'customer' from a Northern Prairie town)

Joe was in his early twenties, serving time for raping a prostitute. He was Caucasian, single, with grade eight education, and had lived all his life in a Northern Prairie town.

At the age of nine, he started with acid, and got into harder and harder drugs. At fourteen, he was doing twenty-five hits of acid a week. That lasted about four months. He couldn't even remember his phone number. At sixteen, he quit school and started selling drugs to his friends.

Later he began to sell drugs to local hookers, and then eventually came to trade drugs for sex (Acid, Cocaine and Mescaline for sexual intercourse). At sixteen, he was convicted and served provincial time for cattle rustling, and at eighteen had his first conviction for trafficking. (He was doing only seasonal work, but making up to \$7,000 per month, so the police became suspicious.) At the age of nineteen, he was convicted of gross indecency and rape. From the time Joe left school until his last incarceration, he made regular use of the services of local prostitutes, usually once or twice a week.

According to Joe, the prostitutes were all women, 90% native, with little education and between seventeen and eighteen years of age, although he was personally aware of one fourteen year old, and three sisters ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-three. He knew of at least twenty-five prostitutes, but only two pimps. The only violence of which he was aware, was carried out by white pimps. Although many of the women were giving money to men, these men were not aggressive, didn't threaten the women, and considered this form of income supplementary. (Most of the 'pimps' were the prostitutes' 'old men' or boyfriends.) There were no escort agencies in his town.

"No, the police never bother the prostitutes. They all work in the bars and not on the streets, so what's to bother. The main customers are a few local boys, like me, and the rest are the guys that come in from the rigs (oil rigs). They work hard all week and save their money. There's nothing up there to spend it on. So _____ is a rich town, dirty, but rich. Guys will pay a lot for just normal sex. It's nothing to them to spend \$500 a day when they come here. I don't know of much kinky sex except two guys and two girls over night, switching partners. That costs about \$500 or \$600 for the night. I did know of five or six guys

hiring one girl for the night. The guys I know used to brag about which girls were better."

"I had clients that used to buy large amounts of coke and acid. These were lawyers and doctors in town. I knew they were dealing, so it was for their parties. Some hash too. There wasn't anywhere to go for a good time for these guys, in _____, so they'd party in private homes. They'd party in one room, and show pornographic movies in another. There would always be prostitutes at these parties. You didn't really need an invitation to those parties. I'm sure the girls selling their bodies didn't think of it as prostituting. They enjoyed it too. It's a party town. Even on Sundays. They never took one day off."

"This one bar only, used to bring in exotic dancers from the South. Ninety percent of the girls booked at the bar were prostitutes. They were always from out of town. No local girls danced there. When the show finished about 11:30, they'd get in at least a couple of guys in one night. I never expected them to be hookers. I didn't think the women would be like that. Stripping is one thing, but to be a prostitute, too? They charged \$50 - \$100 for one lay. Some of the guys thought they could date them for free. I had lots of guys say they had to pay for it. They really resented that."

"The women in town go at least once a week to the health clinic. I know they go in on a regular basis. I have a doctor friend (sells drugs to him) who said they come in often. I always go for health checks, every two weeks. I used the excuse that I was working on the rigs. I never got V.D. V.D. isn't spread by prostitutes, but by the bar women. They don't go to the hospital until it's too late."

"This town never shuts down. When the bars close everyone left there goes on to something else. In the winter, someone invites everyone to their home. I'd never do it. The houses get wrecked sometimes. House parties go on 'til morning. But in the summer, the bunch moves out into the country. We go a few miles out of town to where there's a clearing in the bush, where we can build a fire. It was usually some of us (local men), some of the regular rig workers, some of the girlfriends, and all the hookers left in the bar. You know, a real

BUSH-PARTY. Dancing, singing, drinking, a lot of drinking, and lots of sex. The hookers made lots of money in the bush. We all got drunk together. That's what finally got me in here. I left a bush-party with two other guys and a woman that had just come in from Winnipeg (where she had been a prostitute). She didn't know me. I never pay for sex with money, only drugs. Anyway, we all had sex, just normal, you know. Just one to one. The other guys didn't have any money, so they told her . . . "old JOE will pay". But she didn't want drugs, she wanted cash. So here I am in here for rape."

B2. CASE #2

"Tom"
(a regular 'customer' from a large Prairie city)

Tom was in his early thirties, serving time for raping a prostitute. He was single, caucasian, with high school, some university, and trades training.

Tom lived in a poor but stable district, raised by strict parents, but played on the street from the age of five up. He was a middle child, with an older brother and a younger sister. He described himself as the type that always looked for the action. He was molested at the age of five, but received no money for it.

He started using drugs at the age of twelve, did well in school until he reached high school, and then he began spending a lot of time on the street. Lots of parties, going to bars, one-night stands, got money for selling drugs to other high school students, and was stoned every day. Tried heroin and liked it but ". . . didn't want to live like a junkie." Eventually failed grade twelve, but finished it at night school later, and went on to gain some university courses and trades training.

His involvement with the law started with an incident in high school in which he stole money and drugs from a drug dealer who came after him with some 'hit men'. Tom retaliated with a pellet gun, and was arrested. He was sixteen, and received a suspended sentence. At that time he had regular girlfriends for six months to a year at any one time. Between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, he worked intermittently, but was drinking and 'smoking' heavily. At twenty-one, he was convicted of a rape which he would not discuss. After his release from prison, he was marked for life with women.

"I realized I couldn't tell a serious woman that I'd raped someone."

It was then that he started dating prostitutes. His experiences include body-rub parlours, escort agencies, and street prostitutes of every price range. He was self-supporting during this period.

"I always chose the experienced ones if I could. They were cleaner and you could get more kinky. The lower class hookers always ask for their money first. Once its in their pocket, they try to rip you off. Mostly I got blow-jobs from them. One pulled a knife on me. They threaten you with their pimps. Try to get more money from you."

"In the lower class areas, most of the pimps are police officers. The police watch out for the homely girls and the native girls so that you don't rip them off."

"I've gone with some from _____ (the higher class area). They seem high class, but they're cold. No feeling. They don't even work for it, with their nose in the air."

"I was drunk once, walking through a mall. Two girls were walking towards me. I said, How would you girls like to make some money? I'll give you \$100 if you both come over. They came. They weren't hookers. They were about eighteen years old."

"I used to hang around on the street. People knew I went out with hookers, and they used to tease me about it. But if I couldn't pick up someone in a bar, I'd go to a hooker, -- so I wouldn't rape anyone."

"The younger the better. I always look for the youngest one available. Someone said that to me a long time ago, so I always prefer the younger ones now."

"I met an older woman with a younger girl once. This older woman used to fly into the city on week-ends. I met them on the street. I invited them over for a drink. Showed them some pornographic film. Every girl has her price. After getting the two 'free' ones in the mall, I know that. So this older woman used to call me up on long week-ends. She was a grandmother. About fifty years old. She'd bring me gifts. She'd fly in and say, "I'm at such and such a hotel. Come on over and spend the day." I was twenty-five at the time."

"I went out with a couple of hookers again and again and again. Then I would have escorts to my house, usually once or twice a week, mostly on week-ends."

"I had pornographic films. I would look at them myself, but I've shown them to some of the women, and some other friends. I have a video machine. One friend buys them (video movies) in the States, tapes the originals, and sells the copies. He

charges about \$60. You get six hours of full length pornographic movies."

"I got gonorrhea at eighteen from a non-hooker. I've had it thirteen times. I only go in when a symptom shows. The lower-class hookers don't really care about that. Some might grab you and look. I've checked them myself sometimes, and driven some back, but I can't always get my money back. Some were offended, some didn't care."

"The youngest I had was twelve years old. She just jumped in my car, said "I'll give you a blow job for \$10, but you can't touch any part of my body. I'll do my job." She was white. I've had sixteen and seventeen year 'olds, mostly native. A fourteen year old was the one got me into trouble."

"A hooker was the one introduced me to buggery. She said, "do me a favor and put it in my bum". Now I try to talk them into it. That's how I got in here now (prison). I had a fourteen year old for \$100, and we were into foreplay and oral sex both ways. I started having intercourse on top of her and doggie style and then I put it in her rectum. She was in pain. I should have stopped. After, she said she was going to the washroom, but instead she ran out on the street, and was picked up in a car by a stranger. She was heading home, but they (the strangers) insisted she go to emergency. She had a fiancée and a mother, and lied to protect her reputation. Her mother, who lived in Vancouver, didn't know she was living on the street here in _____, but the people who took her to the hospital and the M.D.'s started asking questions and she had to scream rape. It was only buggery. The police wouldn't let me take a lie detector test. In court, they just wanted to get me because it was my second rape charge. I'll need prostitutes forever now. No regular woman would accept me."

B3. CASE #3

"Mike"
(a pimp from a large Prairie city)

Mike was Caucasian, single, in his late twenties, with grade nine education. He had lived both in the U.S.A. and Canada. He was serving time for armed robbery and living off the avails.

Mike first got involved running girls when he was twenty and short on money. He had a friend who was running fifteen girls in New York, and Mike intended to pimp to make enough money to make a big drug deal, and then quit. His friend gave him two of the girls (although they were told they had been sold to him), and within three weeks he had ten girls of his own. After about six months, another pimp tried to take Mike's girls, and was found mysteriously dead in a fire. At the same time, he discovered one of his girls was a juvenile, and he gave her 'the boot' and she went to the police. At this point, Mike 'immigrated' to Canada with a few thousand dollars in his pocket.

He settled in a large Prairie city, got a job as a security guard and tried to go 'straight', but he wasn't making much money. He got back into pimping. Eventually, he robbed a bank and was turned in by a female friend of his who was running an escort agency. He also was unknowingly running a fifteen year old who turned him in.

"It's important to establish a reputation on the street, through some means, to show you can be violent. Being known on the street for carrying weapons is important. But then you've got to have a good lawyer."

"In New York, each of my girls had a quota to make for me -- either \$200 per day, or 30% of their take. I was earning up to five or six grand a day there. In (Canada), I took 20%, but was still making between \$500 and \$1000 a day. You always put your girls on a probation period, to find out if they're juveniles. You get them working the bars before you put them on the street, although twice for me, it didn't work. You got to know too that they can handle the job, make the money. Pimping to me is serious business. I have different types of relationships with each girl. One is always my 'old lady', only one. The others are either good friends, or some are strictly a business relationship. I supply the girls with everything they want, and develop a dependency relationship. But I protect them too. I have to maintain a tough reputation on the street, so that other pimps think

twice before pushing into my territory. My girls get their reputation from how tough I am. If they can keep a good reputation on the street, like high standing, then they don't get attacked by the competition, either. If I want to sell one, the price I can get depends partly on my reputation, not just hers. If I keep my reputation up, it attracts new girls, too. If I'm powerful, more girls want to work for me."

"I never would run a juvenile if I knew it. They're too risky. They're not reliable, you never can tell what they'll do. They can't handle the stress, and they run away. They don't settle into the business. They talk a lot to everyone, and they never get loyal. They're always wanting to move on."

"A lot of prostitutes here are transexuals, lesbians, bisexuals. A lot are into heavy drugs, but a lot are not. The real pros use coke and demorol. They stay in one area, and there's no natives there. I guess about 40% are black. I knew of one Chinese and one East Indian, and the rest were white. They get minimum \$60. All the others hang out on _____'th Street. Lots of twelve and thirteen year olds there, I guess about 75% native. They're into Talwin and booze. They can only get about \$30 a shot. But it doesn't matter what kind they are, about 65% of them will try to rip you off. A lot of hookers are strippers if they're pretty enough."

"Most of the girls that come from the Prairies tend to stay in Vancouver, Edmonton, or Calgary. We get a lot of girls from the East coming here, but they don't stay long."

"We got a good organization there (organization of pimps). Each player can attend an organization meeting which is held once a month, either as a decision maker or a non-decision maker. If you want to be a decision maker, you pay \$1000 per month. We set prices on the street, find out about drug deals, sell girls back and forth, stuff like that. A girl usually sells for about \$2 - 5,000 on the street. One sold last year for \$10,000. We keep a BAD BOOK - including the names and sometimes pictures if we can get them, of troublemaker girls, runaways, underage girls: anyone that can cause trouble in the business."

"What we need is to make this really into a business, for consenting adults. We need medical controls, standard prices, cheques made out to pimps so the wife doesn't get suspicious, no cash, government inspection, a special area for us. And the girls need good legal recourse when the tricks, and us, abuse them. And you got to keep the junkies off the streets. They are a threat to tricks, spreading disease, beating up tricks for money. They make it all look bad. Give the women six month licenses, and give the pimps licenses too. If you do the opposite, tighten things up again, there's going to be real trouble. Lots of violence, especially against the women."

B4. CASE #4

"Bob"
(a pimp from a Prairie city)

Bob was in his early thirties, serving time for attempted murder and other lesser charges. He was married, with grade ten education, and had lived all his life in the same city. He was of native ancestry, and a member of one of the 'controlling families' (referred to elsewhere in the report). He came from a family of sixteen children, only twelve remain. Everyone in his extended family was involved in the world of street crimes.

At the age of nine, he was smashing his own house, and kidnapping his brothers and sisters. At the age of fourteen, he was a foster-home runaway. At the age of sixteen, he was on his own, living in hotel and motel rooms alone. He made money by boosting, stealing dress clothing and selling it to girls and their pimps. They paid him with drugs and food and shelter. At seventeen, he was pimping. At twenty, he lived with a lot of ladies of the street, and spent half his money on them. But, he managed their hours and paid their bills. Usually three at one time, no more.

"I didn't treat them like whores. We all lived together."

"I lived with one woman from _____. She did drugs and partied a lot. I tried to get her to clean up her act, but she couldn't, so I took her back to _____ and dropped her off."

"I did a lot of stealing, moving, travelling, robbing drug stores, making a living. I made a deal with police in _____, but they sent me back, and charged me for everything. I appealed, and they upgraded the sentence.

"I got a kid, my wife tried to give her away. She was in jail too. When she put my kid in a foster home, I gave her a licking (the wife). I attacked a welfare official when I was out on day parole over not getting access to my kid."

"You got to keep control over your ladies. They're representing you out there. If she H.O.'s on you (hold out payment), they'll start to say that he can't even keep his ladies. Some run away. They just go. But mine don't do it behind my back. Trust is important, if you want to leave, you just say so. A woman needs class. I don't take no

druggies. Look at some of them on the corner smoking, 'hanging a lip'. Some working girls have needle marks down their arms and thighs. They whine. They're 'bubble-gum whores'. That's no good. A woman's body is supposed to be beautiful. Some of those sluts need a licking. They lose respect for themselves because they're a whore. But no woman every went to jail for me. You got to be a gentleman, and win them over with being nice. Most ladies never had much to begin with. I give them nice clothes (stolen). I can turn them out fast. These innocent ones sleep with their boyfriends and never get a thing. I show them what they can get for themselves. I met one who was going to be a probation officer. I turned her out in two weeks. Waitresses, anyone. If my ladies don't produce, I just compare them to the others, and make them feel bad. We say "the lady is what the old man is." If a guy is an addict, she'll be one too. I do drugs, but all my ladies don't do drugs. My ladies all use safes and get checkups once a week. They go to my private doctors. None of them has ever been pregnant by a Square John."

"I got arrangements with a queer quack (homosexual medical doctor). I arranged to send young boys to him. Those young guys let him suck them off, in exchange for drugs. He'll fix gunshot wounds with no reports to the police. He deals with my ladies' pregnancies. I got one M.D. in _____, too. The women could go to him for checks and drugs. He used to get it on with them, had to do 'body checks' on them, you know . . ."

"I met up with this lawyer in 1981. I arrange groups of women for him for stag parties. When I don't have enough of my own ladies, I borrow some from the other men. When I'm on a beef (arrested and charged), I get him to 'cuff' me (arrange for bail and defense). I arrange to leave \$500 with him all the time, on credit. One time, he told me the names of all the crown witnesses, who and where they were. So I arranged to go and get them. 'Assault causing', wounding, attempted murder -- I've gotten off on all those beefs. I get bail all the time because of kick-backs to the police. I stabbed a guy five times in the _____ (restaurant) and got only \$250 bail. I traded a stolen RCMP gun and holster for that. I've gotten my old lady out on bail by kicking back guns and explosives. I know

who has them in the city. I just go and steal them. The police like to get hold of handguns."

"Other customers give me rented cars. I don't like to drive old cars, or the same one too long. The police get to know it."

"When I get tight (stressed), I used to run away for three or four weeks to another city. I'd steal ugly sweaters, tool sets, socket wrenches, then turn around and return them to the store, complaining about the poor quality and demanding my money back. I used to get money back for what I stole from them. When I was in _____, I used to stay with the Drag Queens (female impersonators). They're a good bunch. I'd boost clothes for them, and they'd put me up. We'd party together."

"About ten years ago I was in an arson deal, me and another guy. This guy was going bankrupt. We made molotovs and burned down two establishments, one was his and the other wasn't, just to take the heat off (to remove suspicion from the one owner). We were supposed to get \$2500 for each job. But the guy paid us through a middleman, and he ripped us off. So we took his wife and kid. But he fingered us. Set us up another phony deal with three or four tape recorders and the bulls arrested us."

"One pimp and his whore were talking. I kidnapped them both, took them out to the country, tied them to a tree, beat them, and left them to teach them a lesson. He got away, so I had to move the whore. I kept her drugged in my house for ten days, until it was too late to talk."

"Used to take epileptic fits in a drugstore. I was good at it. I'd fall down and throw myself all over the floor, knocking everything all off the shelves. Then while I was causing a disturbance, and every one was helping, my two whores would go behind the counter and steal all the drugs."

"I always drew welfare. At one time I was living in a house that rented for \$1000/month, and they still sent me a cheque for \$300 a month. I told them I was sharing the rent with four other guys. But I never put anything in my name."

"My ladies all have regulars. One guy picks her up and takes her swimming to a hotel pool. Then he gives her baths, massages with body oil and everything. She really likes it. They do straight lays. When she comes back her skin is so nice . . ."

The Chinese make the best tricks. The girls call them jackrabbits (because they are so fast). I sent three girls one night to a stag with twenty-five men. They watched five movies and had sex, and they were all finished in five hours . . . One of my ladies has a customer that never sleeps with her at all . . . One had a 'square john' that was always 'cutting me up', like saying to her, why give your money to him, and that stuff. I had to 'talk' to him, you know . . . I've followed customers home. I've used knives and guns to threaten them, and I've given them lickings for being rough . . . Most of the customers are married, forty to fifty years old. The girls get a few university students, but they have fantasies they want to try out . . . The girls charge \$100 plain (straight intercourse), \$200 with two guys, \$50 each to just watch two girls, \$50 to watch a girl and a guy, \$50 to get peed on, \$500 from midnight to 6:00 a.m."

"When I was on parole, I worked for my Uncle, counselling little kids. I used to take off to _____ (a city in another province) and he'd say I was travelling for him. Then I'd boost and make money. That's what I'd have trouble explaining to my parole officer; where I kept getting all the money.

"I've seen lots of killing. I witnessed two murders. I know one guy, (named him), who's beaten four murder beefs. Two of my (relatives) were killed in 198 . I always carry handguns, cross bows, and I have a Doberman. The police like it when I'm busy with pimping, 'cause then I'm not out stealing and robbing. They leave me alone."

and so on, and so on . . .

B.5 CASE #5

"Ted"
(a pimp from a large Prairie City)

Ted was in his mid-thirties, serving time for murder. He was caucasian, with a grade eight education, divorced, and had lived in several Prairie Cities.

Ted was the Black Sheep in the family, but had no serious interactions with police until after he was married. His father was very strict.

At the age of 19, Ted was a newly married 'Square John'. But when he lost his job, he got in with a guy that wrote bad cheques with his name. They both got convicted for fraud, and he served his first prison term. He moved from his home city, to a larger city, where he found work as a clothing salesman, and was doing so well he was expecting a raise. One night he was routinely checked by two police, who later informed his employer that he had a criminal record. He lost his job. He was 'picked up' by a 49 year old street woman (hooker/madam) who over a period of living together, taught him how to survive on the street. She taught him the psychology of handling women and how to deal with other pimps.

"She introduced me to everyone. I tried to get straight jobs. I stood in line at Canada Manpower like everyone else, but one day I asked her what I should do. She showed me how to pick up a couple of girls and put them out. She taught me to be a GENTLEMAN and not a PIMP. The first girl I got in (a city) was a junkie. (a city) was dry (no heroin) at the time, and she needed someone to help her make the money. Seventy-five percent of the girls on the street are dopers; heroin or coke. The first time she cashed in to me, she offered it to me. I knew she wanted to be with me. When the heroin comes back, she said, I'll go. A junkie and a straight can't live together long. But (the older woman) wanted me to become learned in other ways. Don't be just a pimp, she used to say. Three quarters of the pimps who didn't have a woman would starve to death. So I started using and selling soft drugs. I was doing some stealing and using forged credit cards, I'd buy garbage bags full of travellers cheques and credit cards that came in from (a city). I'd sell them to others, and then give the supplier 30% of what I got. I even got half-decent at the art of forgery for cheque writing."

"After my first stable, I got into hard drugs. One woman lived with me and five others had their own apartments. Two worked the streets and the others worked the clubs. They were all in their early twenties. I never ran juveniles. None of them got less than \$300 per night. Some of them would do kinky stuff for \$500 for half an hour. No girl ever H.O'd on me. I always made sure they were well-dressed, had nice furniture. Most of the women look horrible. I don't know how most of them make a dime. I never beat them. Ninety percent of the guys who beat their ladies don't make money. I was their protector, and they set their rates like a business. I was a GIGOLO. I treated them like they were a person. I'd be a gentleman. I understood a woman's needs were not just sexual. In the end, I had to give it up (having a large number of women). I couldn't handle it. I had a main lady. Everybody wanted to be her. It brought about fights. One of the girls tried to frame me. She concocted a giant ruse. She had a girlfriend of hers come to her place, and slap her around. She had little red marks. Then she accused me of slapping her and taking her money. I was charged and spent two hours in jail. She phoned me up and told me what was happening. I was such a greenhorn, just getting used to the street. The charges were finally dropped, and I broke everything up. I got rid of all four except my main lady.

"Over that time, I got into hard drugs. Got a big habit. I ran from (a city) and got a job as a heavy equipment operator in (another city). I was trying to kick the habit. Eventually, I went back to (1st city) to face a drug charge, and did time for it. After I got out, I connected with some heroin dealers from (city) and (city). I started out selling singles, working as a middleman. Then I got involved with another lady who was addicted and hooking. Finally, I quit, gathered my money, and went to the Coast. I bought three bundles (of heroin) and brought it back and sold it myself. That's how I got back into the money."

"When I was pimping, I took half, and gave them sex and protection. Everyone had a situation. I always knew where they were. I'd phone or go. Several times I gave customers licking. If the phone rang five times, there was something wrong, and I'd go.

Customers used to use violence to get freebies. I used to pay a lawyer a retainer (\$500) so he'd be ready. One night, my girls had been picked up with twelve others. I was the only one that went down to pick up the girls at the police station. The police didn't bug me because I kept my girls clean. Once a week checks. No gonorrhea, no pregnancies. They were all kept well, polite. Never rip-offs. That's pressure. If you don't get the money, you start ripping off tricks. Mine wouldn't ... Although there was a code, the other pimps will cop your girls, mostly with talk. Trades are acceptable, and the arrangements are done only by the men. There was a lot of white boy/black boy friction. The Blacks were more violent, and used more drugs.

"When I was 27, I met another lady. She was a real pro. She wasn't a dooper. She was clean. She was also 46, and had an elite group of clients: judges, lawyers, executives. She'd been a working girl since 16. She did a number on me, 'conned' me. We lived together until my trial, and she even stayed with me for five years later. I was her boyfriend. I wasn't taking any of her money. I was selling drugs. She still had tricks regularly. It was her business, her career. When I was younger, I was jealous of my girlfriend's tricks. But I gained respect from her from treating her dates like the business that they were."

"A lot of girls are turned out by pimps with big talk, fantasy, lights of the big city, promises of Hollywood, clothes, parties. I never made a straight girl into a working girl. I never turned a girl out nor turned someone into a junkie. I never damaged another man's home or his family. But if you start to weaken, people will keep at you. You have to keep up a tough image. And a little spying is necessary."

B6. CASE #6

"Death of a Trick"
(as related by a male, female-impersonator)

"The trick was into S & M. he came looking for someone to work him over. I wasn't into this, so another prostitute went with the guy. The second prostitute later told me that the client was a bit strange.

One night there was no work. Myself, another prostitute and her boyfriend (a square john) were sitting around with nothing to do. The other prostitute made a comment that she wished she had telephone clients. I said I had this guy's phone number, so we called him up. He said to come over in an hour. The boyfriend went too, partly out of curiosity and with the understanding that he would never touch the client except to whip him.

At the trick's home, the trick gave us a lot to drink, but drank little himself. He showed us pictures of transvestites and various acts and showed us a drawer full of all sorts of sexual toys.

The boyfriend went out of the room to the washroom. The trick followed him out into the hall and made an attempt to get the boyfriend to participate in 'discipline' (i.e. the trick wanted to discipline the boyfriend). A fight broke out. The trick threatened to kill us all. The two of us (prostitutes) grabbed liquor bottles which we kept smashing over the trick's head to knock him out, but he did not ("unlike the movies where they are knocked out with the first bottle.") We ran into the kitchen to get a weapon. All the knives had been removed, including table cutlery.


Eventually she grabbed a brass lamp and began beating the trick over the head. She freaked out, kept screaming, and beating and by the time we got her to stop, the trick was dead.

We ran instead of calling the police, because we were too afraid. We all went back to the female prostitute's apartment. We were watching "Quincy" and realized that the police could find us through fingerprints, so we went back and tried to set the place on fire. We failed -- only a small part was burnt. The boyfriend took off.

The two of us couldn't handle the pressure. Finally I phoned my parents and told them about the incident and about being a prostitute and everything. That was very difficult to do. I was about 22 at the time and had planned on quitting prostitution the next week.

I served 5-1/2 years in a federal institution. The papers ate us alive - "Prostitutes on Trial for Murder" and had a hey-day out of my being a female impersonator."

C. MUNICIPAL BY-LAWS


Acting City Clerk

BY-LAW NO. 25 M81

Calgary, Alta. OCT 20 1982

Being a By-law of The City of Calgary to Amend
By-law Number 9022 to Prohibit Use of City Streets
by those Approaching or being Approached by Others
for the Purpose of Prostitution

WHEREAS subsection (3) of section 169 of The Municipal Government Act provides that subject to every other act, a municipal council has control and management of, among other things, the public highways, roads, streets lanes, alleys and bridges within the municipality including the air space above;

AND WHEREAS subsection (1) of section 14 of The Highway Traffic Act 1975 provides, among other things, that a municipal council may make by-laws controlling and regulating the use of all highways, sidewalks and other public places and delegating to the chief constable or municipal commissioner any powers in connection therewith;

AND WHEREAS there are persons who locate themselves upon, and hold themselves out on City streets for the purpose of prostitution;

AND WHEREAS there are persons who approach or are approached by others on City streets for the purpose of prostitution;

AND WHEREAS these above mentioned persons often collect in groups on City streets and attract crowds on City streets, vehicular and pedestrian;

AND WHEREAS the above mentioned activities are a source of annoyance and embarrassment to members of the public and interfere with their right and ability to move freely and peacefully upon the City streets;

AND WHEREAS it is expedient to provide by by-law that the highways, streets, sidewalks, alleys, lanes and public places of the City shall not be used for the purpose of holding out or offering to other persons lawfully using the streets services of a prostitute and to amend by-law number 9022, The Street By-law for this purpose;

NOW, THEREFORE, THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF CALGARY ENACTS AS FOLLOWS:

1. By-law number 9022 is hereby amended.
2. Section 5 of by-law number 9022 is amended by adding after the words and numeral "of section 6" where the same appear in subsection 1 thereof the words and numeral "and of section 6.1".
3. The following new section is added after section 6 of by-law number 9022:

"6.1 (1) In this section

(a) "offering" includes but is not limited to the holding out, proposing, making available or expressing willingness to participate in a sexual service with a person for payment;

(b) "prostitution" means the sale or offering for sale of sexual services and includes the purchase or offering to purchase sexual services;

(c) "sexual services" include but are not limited to activities of a sexual nature for amusement, gratification, pleasure, stimulation, titillation or otherwise of any person;

- (2) No person shall be or remain on a street for the purpose of prostitution.
 - (3) No person shall approach another person on a street for the purposes of prostitution.
 - (4) Any person contravening the provisions of this section is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction:
 - (a) for a first offence to a fine of not less than one hundred dollars (\$100.00) and not more than five hundred dollars (\$500.00) or in default of payment of the fine and costs, to imprisonment for not more than sixty(60) days; and
 - (b) for a second or subsequent offence to a fine of not less than three hundred dollars (\$300.00) and not more than five hundred dollars (\$500.00) or in default of payment of the fine and costs, to imprisonment for not more than six (6) months
- unless in either case the fine and costs, including the cost of committal are sooner paid. "

4. This By-law comes into force upon the day when it receives its third reading and is finally passed by Council.

READ A FIRST TIME THIS 25 DAY OF JUNE , A.D. 1981.

READ A SECOND TIME AS AMENDED THIS 25 DAY OF JUNE , A.D. 1981

READ A THIRD TIME AS AMENDED THIS 25 DAY OF JUNE , A.D. 1981


MAYOR


CITY CLERK

OFFICE CONSOLIDATION By-Law No. 135/78

Being a By-law of the City of Calgary
To License, Regulate and Control Body
Painting Studios, Encounter Studios,
Dating and Escort Services and Model
Studios

(As amended by By-law 43M79, 36M80)

The Council of the City of Calgary enacts as follows:

1. This By-law may be cited as "The Dating and Escort Service By-law".
2. In this By-law, including this section, unless the context otherwise requires:
 - (a) "body painting studio" includes any premises or part thereof where, directly or indirectly, a fee is paid or levied for any activity involving the application by any means of dyes, paint, or similar materials to the body of another person;
 - (b) "date or escort" means any person who acts as a date or escort as part of the service provided by a dating service, or a dating and escort service;
 - (c) "dating service" means any business which offers to provide or does provide an introduction between two persons of the opposite sex for a period of companionship of short duration for which said service a fee is charged, levied or otherwise imposed, for each date or introduction;
 - (d) "dating and escort service" means any business which offers to provide or does provide a dating service, an escort service or introductions, for a person or persons with another person or persons for which said service or introduction a fee is charged, levied or otherwise imposed for each occasion the escort service or dating service is provided or each occasion an introduction is made;
 - (e) "encounter counsellor" means any person employed by the operator of an encounter studio or who is in the encounter studio with the consent (whether express or implied) of the operator, for the purpose of holding or conducting an encounter session, with any member of the general public who enters the premises for the purpose of participating in an encounter session, but does not include any person licensed under any legislation of the Province of Alberta to carry on their occupation or profession or any person engaged as a counsellor by any organization incorporated under The Societies Act of Alberta;
 - (f) "encounter session" means a meeting or encounter between an encounter counsellor and a member of the general public who enters the encounter studio for the purpose of having a discussion with, or being in the presence of, an encounter counsellor, in order to relax or to be comforted or soothed by the encounter counsellor;

- (g) "encounter studio" includes any premises or part thereof where, directly or indirectly, a fee or admission fee is paid or levied for that type of service where a person can enter the aforesaid premises and meet a person of the opposite sex for the purpose of holding a discussion or for the purpose of being in that person's presence in order to relax or be comforted and soothed or for any other activity intended to have a similar effect.
 - (h) "License By-law" means The License By-law No. 85/76, of The City of Calgary as amended from time to time;
 - (i) "model" means any person who makes himself or herself available as a model, or who is a model, in a model studio;
 - (j) "model studio" includes any premises or part thereof where, directly or indirectly, a fee is paid or levied in consideration for which a person or persons is made available as a model to pose in the nude or semi-nude for the purpose of being observed, sketched, painted, drawn, sculptured, photographed, or otherwise depicted but does not include any studio which functions as an educational institution authorized under any legislation of the Province of Alberta governing educational institutions, nor to any studio which functions to provide human beings as models to be observed, sketched, painted, drawn, sculptured, photographed or otherwise depicted and such depiction is produced for advertising purposes or to any studio which is being operated by a commercial, professional or amateur artist solely for the purpose of enabling such an artist to depict the human body in an art form;
 - (k) "police officer" means any member of the City of Calgary Police Service.
3. Except where inconsistent with this By-law, the general licensing provisions of the License By-law shall apply mutatis mutandis to this By-law and licenses issued pursuant to this By-law.
4. (1) No person shall operate or carry on the business of operating a body painting studio, or a dating and escort service, or an encounter studio or a model studio without having a valid and subsisting license issued by the City's Chief License Inspector pursuant to the provisions of this By-law.
- (2) Every person who is required by sub-section (1) of this section of this by-law to apply for a license shall submit with his application to the Chief License Inspector for his consideration a written recommendation signed by or on behalf of the Chief of Police.
- (3) Notwithstanding anything elsewhere contained in this By-law or in the License By-law, no person shall be issued a license pursuant to this By-law unless such person has first satisfied the Chief License Inspector that such person has been a resident of The City of Calgary for a period of at least six months immediately prior to the date of the application for such license.
(B/L 36X80, 1980 July 29)
5. (1) No license shall be issued pursuant to this By-law until the applicant therefor has paid to the City the license fee prescribed by this By-law.

- (2) The fee for a license to operate or carry on the business of a body painting studio, or a dating and escort service, or an encounter studio, or a model studio shall be two thousand and twenty dollars (\$2,020.00) per annum.
 - (3) No license issued pursuant to the provisions of this By-law is capable of being transferred.
6. (1) Every person who
- (a) is the person who receives a fee or any type of monetary consideration either directly or indirectly for allowing himself or herself to be the person to whose body a dye, paint or similar materials is applied in a body painting studio; or,
 - (b) is a date or escort; or,
 - (c) is an encounter counsellor; or,
 - (d) is a model,
- is required to have, and be in possession of, a valid and subsisting license issued to that person by the Chief License Inspector.
- (2) The fee for a license issued pursuant to sub-section (1) of this section of this by-law shall be eighty-five dollars (\$85.00) per annum.
 - (3) Every application for a license to be issued pursuant to sub-section (1) of this section of this by-law shall include the following information:
 - (a) the full name, residential address, and telephone number of the applicant;
 - (b) the address of the premises where the applicant carries out his or her occupation;
 - (c) the applicant's Social Insurance Number; and,
 - (d) such other information as the Chief License Inspector may require.
 - (4) Every person who is required by sub-section (1) of this section of this by-law to apply for a license shall submit with his application to the Chief License Inspector for his consideration a written recommendation signed by or on behalf of the Chief of Police.
7. (1) No person shall carry on the business of a body painting studio, or an encounter studio, or a model studio at any place other than the premises named in the license issued therefor.
- (2) Every person carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall carry on that business from an office the address of which shall be specified in the license issued therefor and all records pertaining to the aforesaid business shall be maintained and kept in the said office.

- (3) The premises of every body painting studio, every encounter studio or every model studio shall be kept in a clean and sanitary condition at all times.
 - (4) The premises of every body painting studio, every encounter studio and every model studio shall be equipped with a hot and cold water distribution system.
 - (5) The premises of every body painting studio, every encounter studio and every model studio shall be equipped with at least one toilet and one wash basin for each sex.
 - (6) The premises of every body painting studio and every model studio shall be equipped with at least one shower or bathtub for each sex.
 - (7) All equipment, furniture and furnishings in a body painting studio, encounter studio and model studio shall be kept in a clean and sanitary condition.
 - (8) All towels or linen used in a body painting studio or an encounter studio or a model studio shall be used only once before being washed and all soiled towels and linens shall be stored in containers used only for that purpose.
 - (9) The premises of every body painting studio, encounter studio or model studio shall be equipped with adequate ventilating equipment.
8. All rooms used for encounter sessions, for body painting studios and for model studios shall comply with the following conditions:
- (a) shall not be less than 2.4 metres by 2.4 metres in dimension;
 - (b) shall not be equipped with any locking device on any door thereto;
 - (c) shall not have any means by which any person may view the interior thereof, other than the doorway providing entrance thereto;
 - (d) shall be equipped with electric lighting of at least one hundred (100) watts in white or clear light, which shall remain lighted at all times while the room is occupied.
9. (1) No person operating or carrying on the business of an encounter studio shall permit, suffer or allow any encounter counsellor to participate in an encounter session unless the encounter counsellor is wearing a non-transparent garment covering his or her body between the neck and the top of the knee, and the sleeves of which shall be of elbow length.

- (2) Every person operating or carrying on the business of an encounter studio shall post in a conspicuous place in the encounter studio a schedule of the fees which are charged for an encounter session.
10. Every person carrying on the business of operating a body painting studio shall post in a conspicuous place in the studio a schedule of the fees which are charged for any body painting activity allowed or offered therein.
11. Every person carrying on the business of operating a model studio shall post in a conspicuous place in the studio a schedule of the fees which are charged for the use of the studio and the presence therein of a model.
12.
 - (1) No person carrying on or operating the business of a body painting studio, or an encounter studio or a model studio shall exhibit or allow to be exhibited on or in the premises any sign or advertisement that suggests or indicates that the premises is a place that offers any form of sexual favours, sexual gratification or sexual intercourse.
 - (2) No person operating or carrying on the business of a body painting studio, or an encounter studio or a model studio shall permit, suffer or allow any member of the general public who has entered the body painting studio, or encounter studio or model studio to disrobe while therein.
13. Every person carrying on the business of operating a body painting studio, a dating and escort service, an encounter studio, or a model studio shall keep in the premises a register in a form prescribed by the Chief License Inspector in which each client's name and address shall be legibly written in ink and signed by the client at the time of each booking or entry into the premises. There shall also be entered in the register the time of the client's arrival and departure and the type of service performed and the fee charged therefor.
14. No person shall operate, or carry on the business of a body painting studio, a dating and escort service, an encounter studio or a model studio between the hours of 12:30 o'clock in the morning and 7:00 o'clock in the morning of the same day.
15.
 - (1) Every person carrying on or operating the business of a body painting studio, an encounter studio or a model studio shall keep on the premises a current list of all persons employed therein or all encounter counsellors or all models who work therein, which said list shall contain the following information:
 - (a) the true name of each employee, encounter counsellor or model as the case may be and any alias and common nickname by which that person is known;
 - (b) the birthdate of the employee, encounter counsellor or model as the case may be; and,

- (c) the residential address and telephone number of each employee, encounter counsellor or model; and,
 - (d) the employee's, encounter counsellor's or model's Social Insurance Number,
 - (2) Every person carrying on or operating the business of a body painting studio, encounter studio or a model studio shall furnish on demand the list of employees or encounter counsellors or models, as the case may be, required to be kept therein to any police officer or the Chief License Inspector or any person authorized to act on his behalf.
16. (1) No person carrying on or operating the business of a dating and escort service shall exhibit or allow to be exhibited on or in the office premises any sign or advertisement that suggests or indicates that the service provided includes any form of sexual favours, sexual gratification or sexual intercourse.
- (2) No person carrying on or operating the business of a dating and escort service shall distribute or cause to be distributed any advertisement or business card that suggests or indicates that the service provided includes any form of sexual favours, sexual gratification or sexual intercourse.
17. (1) Every person carrying on or operating the business of a dating and escort service shall keep in the office from which he or she operates the service, a current list of all persons who actually provide the date for, or who act as an escort for, clients of the service, which said list shall contain the following information:
- (a) the true name of each such person who provides the date or acts as an escort and any alias or common nickname by which that person is known;
 - (b) the birthdate of each such person;
 - (c) the residential address and telephone number of each such person; and
 - (d) such person's Social Insurance Number.
- (2) Every person carrying on or operating the business of a dating and escort service shall furnish on demand the current list of dates or escorts required to be kept therein to any police officer or the Chief License Inspector or any person authorized to act on his behalf.
18. (1) Every application for a license to operate a body painting studio or a dating and escort service or an encounter studio or a model studio shall be made to the Chief License Inspector and shall include the following information:
- (a) the name, residential address and telephone number of the applicant;
 - (b) the address for the proposed place of business;

- (c) the name and residential address of the principal managing employee thereof;
 - (d) the name or names of any other person or persons, and their residential address, having any financial interest in the business for which the application is made;
 - (e) when the applicant is a body corporate, the names and addresses of the officers of the corporation, its registered address and proof of due incorporation;
 - (f) details about any occasions when the applicant has operated a business of any kind elsewhere and for which said business the applicant's license to operate or conduct the said business was revoked or suspended and the reason for such revocation or suspension;
 - (g) a floor plan of the body painting studio premises, encounter studio premises or model studio premises for which the application is made in such detail as the Chief License Inspector may require; and,
 - (h) such other information as the Chief License Inspector may require.
- (2) Every application for a license under this By-law must contain true and accurate information and be made by a bona fide applicant.
 - (3) All licenses issued pursuant to this by-law in the year 1978 shall expire on December 31, 1978, unless it is suspended or revoked by the Chief License Inspector during 1978 and thereafter no license issued for any of the aforementioned businesses shall be valid for a term longer than one calendar year.
 - (4) Every person to whom a license has been issued to operate a body painting studio, an encounter studio or a model studio or a dating and escort service shall post the license in a conspicuous place in the premises where the business is operated.
19. Any person who is the owner, manager or operator of a body painting studio, an encounter studio or a model studio which is designed, planned, constructed or equipped in any way as to hinder or prevent the enforcement of any provisions of this By-law is guilty of an offence.
20. (1) Subject to an appeal to the License Appeal Committee of the City, the Chief License Inspector may refuse to grant any license required by this By-law or he may suspend or revoke any license issued pursuant to this By-law if, in his opinion, there are just and reasonable grounds for the refusal of the application or the revocation or suspension of the license.
(B/L 43M79, 1979 October 1)
- (2) Upon a license being suspended or revoked as hereinbefore provided, the Chief License Inspector shall notify the Licensee thereof

- (a) by delivering a notice to him personally, or
- (b) by mailing a registered letter to his place of business or residence as shown on his license or application for same

and after the delivery of such notice, his business or occupation, as the case may be, shall not be carried on until such time as the period of suspension ends or a new license is issued to replace the license which was revoked.

- (3) A suspension of a license issued pursuant to this By-law may be
 - (a) for a period of time not exceeding the unexpired term of the license, or
 - (b) where the suspension is for non-compliance with a By-law, until the holder of the suspended license has, in the opinion of the Chief License Inspector, complied with that By-law.
- (4) A license may be suspended or revoked for non-compliance with any By-law of the City of Calgary notwithstanding that the holder of the license has not been prosecuted for a contravention of that by-law.

21. A person who fails to do anything which he is required to do pursuant to this By-law, or who does anything which he is prohibited from doing under this By-law is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction

- (a) for a first offence to a fine of not less than one hundred dollars (\$100.00) and not more than five hundred dollars (\$500.00) or in default of payment of the fine and costs to imprisonment for not more than sixty (60) days; and,
- (b) for a second or subsequent offence to a fine of not less than three hundred dollars (\$300.00) and not more than five hundred dollars (\$500.00) or in default of payment of the fine and costs to imprisonment for not more than six (6) months,

unless in either case the fine and costs, including the cost of committal, are sooner paid.

22. This By-Law comes into force on the final day of reading.

READ A FIRST TIME THIS 25th DAY OF September A.D., 1978.

READ A SECOND TIME THIS 25th DAY OF September A.D., 1978.

READ A THIRD TIME THIS 25th DAY OF September A.D., 1978.

(Sgd.) R. ALGER
MAYOR

(Sgd.) J.E. WOODWARD
Acting CITY CLERK

Being a By-Law of The City of Calgary
to Prohibit the Use of Public Streets
for the Purpose of Prostitution

WHEREAS there are persons who locate themselves upon, and hold themselves out on City Streets for the purpose of Prostitution;

AND WHEREAS there are persons who approach or are approached by others on City Streets for the purpose of Prostitution;

AND WHEREAS these abovementioned persons often collect in groups on City Streets and attract crowds on City Streets, vehicular and pedestrian;

AND WHEREAS the abovementioned activities are a source of annoyance and embarrassment to members of the public and interfere with their right and ability to move freely and peacefully upon the City Streets;

AND WHEREAS the Council is of the opinion that these activities mentioned above have reached such proportions as to be a concern of the City as a whole;

AND WHEREAS the Council deems it necessary to pass a by-law to ensure that the public is able to exercise its right to move freely and peacefully upon the City Streets;

NOW THEREFORE the Council of The City of Calgary enacts as follows:

1. This by-law may be cited as the "Street Prostitution By-Law".
2. In this by-law:
 - (a) "City" means The City of Calgary;
 - (b) "Offering" includes but is not limited to the holding out, proposing, making available or expressing willingness to participate in a Sexual Service with a person for payment;
 - (c) "Prostitution" means the sale or offering for sale of Sexual Services and includes the purchase or Offering to purchase Sexual Services;
 - (d) "Sexual Services" include but are not limited to activities of a sexual nature for amusement, gratification, pleasure, stimulation, titillation or otherwise of any person;
 - (e) "Street" includes but is not limited to any public thoroughfare for movement of vehicles or pedestrians and where the context so requires, includes any bridge, road, lane, footway, subway, park, square, court, alley or passage whether a thoroughfare or not, which may be open to the public and the doorways and entrances of premises abutting on the street or any ground adjoining and open to a street are included as forming part of the street.

3. No person shall remain in a City Street for the purpose of Prostitution.
4. No person shall approach another person in a City Street for the purpose of Prostitution.
5. Any person contravening this by-law is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction:
 - (a) For a first offence to a fine of not less than one hundred (\$100) dollars and not more than five hundred (\$500) dollars or in default of payment of the fine and costs, to imprisonment for not more than sixty (60) days; and
 - (b) For a second or subsequent offence to a fine of not less than three hundred (\$300) dollars and not more than five hundred (\$500) dollars or in default of payment of the fine and costs, to imprisonment for not more than six (6) months, unless in either case the fine and costs, including the cost of committal are sooner paid.
6. This by-law comes into force on the final day of reading.

READ A FIRST TIME THIS 25 DAY OF JUNE, A.D. 1981

READ A SECOND TIME AS AMENDED THIS 25 DAY OF JUNE, A.D. 1981

READ A THIRD TIME AS AMENDED THIS 25 DAY OF JUNE, A.D. 1981

MAYOR

CITY CLERK

BYLAW No. 6287

A bylaw of The City of Saskatoon
to prohibit use of City streets
by those approaching or being
approached for the purpose of
prostitution.

WHEREAS Section 143 of The Urban Municipality Act
provides that every public road, street, lane and public place is
under the management and control of the municipality;

AND WHEREAS there are persons who locate themselves upon
and hold themselves out on public roads, streets, lanes and other
public places in the City of Saskatoon for the purpose of
prostitution;

AND WHEREAS this conduct is a source of annoyance and
embarrassment to the members of the public and interferes with
their right and ability to move freely and peacefully upon the
public roads, streets, lanes and other public places in the City
of Saskatoon;

The Council of The City of Saskatoon enacts as follows:

1. In this bylaw:

- (a) "offering" includes, but is not limited to, the
holding out, proposing, making available or
expressing willingness to participate in a sexual
service with a person for payment;
- (b) "prostitution" means the sale or offering for sale
of a sexual service, and includes the purchase or
offering to purchase of sexual services;
- (c) "sexual service" includes, but is not limited to,
activities of a sexual nature for amusement,
gratification, pleasure, stimulation, titillation
or otherwise of any person.

2. No person shall be or remain on a public road, street,
lane, or other public place for the purpose of prostitution.

3. No person shall approach another person on a public road, street, lane, or other public place for the purpose of prostitution.

4. Any person contravening the provisions of this bylaw is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine of not less than Two Hundred Dollars (\$200.00) and not more than Five Hundred Dollars (\$500.00).

Read a first time this day of , A.D. 1982.

Read a second time this day of , A.D. 1982.

Read a third time and passed this day of
A.D. 1982.

Mayor

City Clerk

BYLAW No. 6098

A bylaw of The City of Saskatoon
to license, regulate and control
Dating and Escort Services.

The Council of The City of Saskatoon enacts as follows:

1. This Bylaw may be cited as "The Dating and Escort Service Bylaw".
2. In this Bylaw, including this Section, unless the context otherwise requires:
 - (a) "date or escort" means any person who acts as a date or escort as part of the service provided by a dating service or a dating and escort service;
 - (b) "dating service" means any business which offers to provide or does provide an introduction between two persons for a period of companionship of short duration for which said service a fee is charged, levied or otherwise imposed for each date or introduction;
 - (c) "dating and escort service" means any business which offers to provide or does provide a dating service, an escort service or introductions for a person or persons with another person or persons for which said service or introduction a fee is charged, levied or otherwise imposed for each occasion the dating service or escort service is provided or each occasion an introduction is made;
 - (d) "police officer" means any member of the Saskatoon City Police Force.
3. Except where inconsistent with this Bylaw, the general licensing provisions of The License Bylaw shall apply mutatis mutandis to this Bylaw and to licences issued pursuant to this Bylaw.

4. (1) No person shall operate or carry on the business of a dating and escort service without having a valid and subsisting licence issued by the License Manager of The City of Saskatoon pursuant to the provisions of this Bylaw.
- (2) Every person who is required by Subsection (1) of this Section of this Bylaw to apply for a licence shall submit with his/her application to the License Manager, for his consideration, a written recommendation signed by or on behalf of the Chief of Police.
5. (1) Every application for a licence to operate a dating and escort service shall be made to the License Manager and shall include the following information:
 - (a) the name, residential address and telephone number of the applicant;
 - (b) the address of the proposed place of business;
 - (c) the name and residential address of the principal managing employee thereof;
 - (d) the name or names of any other person or persons, and their residential addresses, having any financial interest in the business for which the application is made;
 - (e) when the applicant is a body corporate, the names and addresses of the officers of the corporation, its registered address and proof of due incorporation;
 - (f) details about any occasions when the applicant has operated a business of any kind elsewhere and for which said business the applicant's licence to operate or conduct the said business was revoked or suspended and the reason for such revocation or suspension;
 - (g) such other information as the License Manager may require.
- (2) Every application for a licence under this Bylaw must contain true and accurate information and be made by a bona fide applicant.
- (3) All licences issued pursuant to this Bylaw in the year 1982 shall expire on December 31, 1982, unless they are suspended or revoked during 1982, and thereafter no licence issued for any of the aforementioned businesses shall be valid for a term longer than one calendar year.

- (4) Every person to whom a licence has been issued to operate a dating and escort service shall post the licence in a conspicuous place in the premises where the business is operated.

6.
 - (1) No licence shall be issued pursuant to this Bylaw until the applicant therefor has paid to the City the licence fee prescribed by this Bylaw.
 - (2) The fee for a licence to operate or carry on the business of a dating and escort service shall be Two Thousand Dollars (\$2,000.00) per annum.
 - (3) No licence issued pursuant to the provisions of this Bylaw is capable of being transferred.

7.
 - (1) Every person who receives a fee or any type of monetary consideration, either directly or indirectly, for being a date or escort is required to have, and be in possession of a valid and subsisting licence issued to that person by the License Manager. Such date or escort must be an employee of a dating and escort service licensed under this bylaw.
 - (2) The fee for a licence issued pursuant to Subsection (1) of this Section of this Bylaw shall be Five Hundred Dollars (\$500.00) per annum.
 - (3) Every application for a licence to be issued pursuant to Subsection (1) of this Section of this Bylaw shall include the following information:
 - (a) the full name, residential address and telephone number of the applicant;
 - (b) the address of the premises where the applicant carries out his or her occupation;
 - (c) the applicant's Social Insurance Number; and,
 - (d) such other information as the License Manager may require.

- (4) Every person who is required by Subsection (1) of this Section of this Bylaw to apply for a licence shall submit with his/her application to the License Manager, for his consideration, a written recommendation signed by or on behalf of the Chief of Police.
8.
 - (1) Every person carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall carry on that business from an office, the address of which shall be specified in the licence issued therefor, and all records pertaining to the aforesaid business shall be maintained and kept in the said office.

- (2) Each date or introduction shall commence at the office specified in the licence issued to the aforesaid business.

9. Every person operating or carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall keep in the premises a register, in a form prescribed by the License Manager, in which each client's name, address and telephone number shall be legibly written in ink. There shall also be entered in the register:

- (a) the time of the date's or escort's arrival;
- (b) the type of service performed;
- (c) the name of the date or escort; and,
- (d) the fee charged therefor.

10. No person shall operate or carry on the business of a dating and escort service between the hours of 12:30 o'clock in the morning and 7:00 o'clock in the morning of the same day.

11. (1) No person operating or carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall exhibit or allow to be exhibited on or in the premises any sign or advertisement that suggests or indicates that the service provided includes any form of sexual favours, sexual gratification or sexual intercourse.

(2) No person operating or carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall distribute or cause to be distributed any advertisement or business card that suggests or indicates that the service provided includes any form of sexual favours, sexual gratification or sexual intercourse.

12. (1) Every person operating or carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall keep in the office from which he or she operates the service a current list of all persons who actually provide the date, or who act as an escort for clients of the service, which said list shall contain the following information:

- (a) the true name of each person who provides the date or acts as an escort, and any alias and/or common nickname by which that person is known;
 - (b) the birthdate of each such person;
 - (c) the residential address and telephone number of each such person; and,
 - (d) each such person's Social Insurance Number.
 - (e) all such other information required by law to be maintained by employers as records of employment.
- (2) Every person operating or carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall furnish on demand the current list of dates or escorts required to be kept therein to any police officer, the License Manager or any person authorized to act on his behalf.

13. A person who fails to do anything which he/she is required to do pursuant to this Bylaw, or who does anything which he/she is prohibited from doing under this Bylaw is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine of not less than Two Hundred Dollars (\$200.00) and not more than Five Hundred Dollars (\$500.00).

14. This Bylaw shall come into force and take effect on the day of the final passing thereof.

Read a first time this day of , A.D. 1982.

Read a second time this day of , A.D. 1982.

Read a third time and passed this day of ,
A.D. 1982.

Mayor

City Clerk

EXTRACTS

THE CITY OF WINNIPEG LICENSE BY-LAW 260/72.

MESSAGE PARLOUR PROPRIETOR, MASSAGIST, ESCORT, DATING AND ESCORT SERVICE.

(Revised Nov. 5, 1981)

PART I 4. (3) Certificate of Chief Constable. No license to carry on the trade of:

Dating and Escort Service, Escort, Massagist, Proprietor of Massage Parlour

shall be issued to any applicant unless the applicant first obtains and files with the Inspector of Licenses a certificate of the Chief of Police that the applicant is of good character.

- (8) Approval of Committee on Environment required. The Inspector of Licenses shall submit every new application for a license to carry on any of the following trades to the Commissioner of Environment:

Dating and Escort Service, Massage Parlour Proprietor.

- (9) Residence Qualifications. No license to carry on the trade of a massage parlour proprietor, massagist, dating and escort service, escort shall be issued to any person unless the Inspector of Licenses ascertains and determines by recording on the application for such license that the applicant has been a resident of the City for at least one year immediately prior to the date of making such application.

PART II DEFINITIONS

11. (25A) "date" means either of the two persons in the companionship relationship described in sub-section (25B);

- (25B) "dating and escort service" means any business which offers to provide or does provide an introduction between two persons for a period of companionship of short duration for which said service a fee is charged, levied or otherwise imposed, for each occasion the escort service or dating service is provided, or each occasion the introduction is made;

- (29A) "escort" means any person who acts as a date as part of a service provided by a dating and escort service, and for which dating and escort service remuneration is paid;

- (48) "massage parlour" means any room or place in which the trade of massaging is carried on by more than one proprietor or by a proprietor and one or more employees but does not include those premises which are used to carry on a business or occupation which is limited solely to the massaging of feet, hands, head or face;

- (49) "massage parlour proprietor" means any person who carries on the trade of a massage parlour;

- (50) "massaging" means kneading, rubbing, manipulating, touching or physically stimulating by any means, of a person's body or any part thereof with or without the use of mechanical or supplementary aids but does not include medical or therapeutic massage treatments given by a duly qualified physiotherapist or by a duly qualified chiropractor, licensed or registered so to do under the laws of the Province of Manitoba;

- (51) "massagist" means a person who works at or carries on the trade of massaging and includes any person employed as an assistant or otherwise in the treatment of customers.

PART III SPECIAL PROVISIONS

24A. DATING AND ESCORT SERVICE

(1) (a) Every applicant for a license to carry on the trade of a dating and escort service or escort (including any person to be employed in a dating and escort service) shall, with his or her application, furnish three prints of a recent photograph (3 inches by 3 inches) of himself or herself, with a statement written on the reverse side of one of them and one of his or her signature that it is a true likeness of the applicant.

(b) Every application for a license to carry on the trade of a dating and escort service shall contain details about any occasions where the applicant has operated a business of any kind elsewhere and for which said business the applicant's license to operate or conduct the said business was revoked or suspended and the reason for such revocation or suspension.

(2) Every person carrying on the business of a dating and escort service shall carry on that business from an office, the address of which shall be specified in a license issued therefor, and all records pertaining to the aforesaid business shall be maintained and kept in the said office.

(3) Every licensee of a dating and escort service shall:

(a) keep in the office from which he or she operates the service, a current list of all persons who act as an escort for clients of the service (including all persons employed in the licensed premises) containing the true name and any aliases or nicknames used by the employee, his or her age, birth-date, height, weight, colour of hair and eyes, residential address, telephone number, social insurance number and date of employment;

(b) furnish a list of all actively employed escorts (including all persons employed in the licensed premises) to the Chief License Inspector once a month;

(c) keep each and every license issued to persons employed in the licensed premises posted up in some conspicuous place as may be approved by the Chief License Inspector and each such license shall be posted with the photograph of the licensee attached;

(d) keep in the office from which the said business is carried on a register in a form prescribed by the Chief License Inspector in which each date's name and address shall be legibly written in ink. There shall also be entered in the register the type of service performed and the fee charged therefor and no entry made in such book shall be erased, obliterated or defaced, nor shall any leaves be torn out;

(e) furnish on demand the current list of dates or escorts required to be kept herein to any police officer, the Chief License Inspector, the health officer, or any one or more of their assistants;

(f) ensure that no person under the age of eighteen years is permitted to be in or about the licensed premises, whether as an employee, customer or otherwise;

(g) ensure that no alcoholic beverages may be purchased or consumed by employees or by patrons in or about the office premises;

(4) (a) No person carrying on or operating the business of a dating and escort service shall exhibit himself or herself, nor permit other persons to exhibit themselves, in any window on or about the office premises, nor to exhibit any sign outside of the licensed premises showing any nude male or female body, nor any printed words that might indicate that the service provided includes any form of sexual or nude entertainment;

(b) No person carrying on or operating the business of a dating and escort service shall distribute or cause to be distributed any handbill, advertisement or business card showing or depicting any nude male or female body or any part thereof, nor any printed words that might indicate that the service provided includes any form of sexual or nude entertainment.

(5) No person shall operate or carry on the business of a dating and escort service between the hours of 12:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. on any day.

(6) No person shall operate or carry on the business of a dating and escort service in any of the following communities within the City of Winnipeg:

Assiniboine Park - Fort Garry

East Kildonan - Transcona

Lord Selkirk - West Kildonan

St. Boniface - St. Vital

St. James - Assiniboia

32. MESSAGE PARLOURS

(1) Every licensee of a massage parlour shall

(a) keep a book in a form prescribed by the Chief Inspector of Licenses, in which shall be clearly written in ink, at the time of each booking, the time of the booking, the name and residence of the person seeking the service of the massage parlour,

together with a description of the type of service ordered and the charge to be made therefor; and no entry made in such book shall be erased, obliterated or defaced, nor shall any leaves be torn out;

(b) at the time of booking each such entry, deliver to the person seeking the service, a memorandum signed by the licensee or other person employed by the licensee for such purpose, containing the substance of the entry required by clause (a) and shall make no charge for such entry, memorandum or note;

(c) at all reasonable times make the said book record of persons served, and all services supplied to such persons, available to the inspections of the Inspector of Licenses, the health officer and the Chief of Police, or any one or more of their assistants;

(d) ensure that no person under the age of eighteen years is permitted to be in or about the licensed premises, whether as an employee, customer or otherwise;

(e) not permit any service of massage or otherwise to be given within any cubicle or room, booth or any area within the licensed premises which is fitted with a door capable of being locked;

(f) not permit any alcoholic beverages to be purchased or consumed by employees or by patrons in or about the licensed premises;

(g) ensure that every massagist engaged in working on a patron in the licensed premises shall wear clean, washable, non-transparent outer garments covering his or her body between the neck and the top of the knee, the sleeves of which do not reach below the elbows;

(i) ensure that the licensed premises are properly lighted and ventilated at all times during business hours;

(2) (a) Each application for a license to carry on the trade of massage parlour proprietor shall contain details about any occasions where the applicant has operated a business of any kind elsewhere and for which said business the applicant's license to operate or conduct the said business was revoked or suspended and the reasons for such revocation or suspension.

(b) Every massage parlour proprietor shall be responsible for ensuring that every person employed in the licensed premises has filed with the Inspector of Licenses the certificate of character required by sub-section (3) of Section 4;

(3) (a) In addition to the requirement of sub-section (5) of Section (8), every massage parlour proprietor shall, so long as such licenses are in force, keep each and every license issued to persons working at the licensed premises posted up in some conspicuous place as may be approved by the Inspector of Licenses;

(3) (b) each such license shall be posted with photograph attached, and with the statement required by clause (c);

(c) every applicant for a license to carry on the trade of massage parlour proprietor or massagist (including any person to be employed in a massage parlour) shall, with his or her application, furnish three prints of a recent photograph (3" x 3") of himself or herself, with a statement written on the reverse side of one of them and over his or her signature that it is a true likeness of the applicant;

(d) every massage parlour proprietor shall maintain a list of all massagists (including all persons employed in the licensed premises; presently employed by him or her, containing the true name and any aliases used by the employee, his or her age, birthdate, height, weight, colour of hair and eyes, home address, telephone number, and date of employment, and furnish a list of all actively employed massagists (including all persons employed in the licensed premises) to the License Inspector once a month.

(e) Every massage parlour proprietor shall furnish on demand the list of employees required to be kept herein to any police officer or to the Chief License Inspector or any person authorized to act on his behalf;

(f) every person found upon or within the premises of a massage parlour shall identify himself on demand to any police officer or to the Chief License Inspector or any person authorized to act on his behalf and shall furnish his true name, address, telephone number and occupation.

(4) No massage parlour proprietor shall exhibit himself or herself nor permit other persons to exhibit themselves in any window on or about the licensed premises, nor to exhibit any sign outside of the premises showing any nude male or female body, or any part thereof, nor any printed words that might indicate that the licensed premises is a place that offers any form of sexual or nude entertainment.

(4A) No massage parlour proprietor shall distribute or cause to be distributed any handbill, advertisement or business card showing or depicting any nude male or female body or any part thereof, nor any printed words that might indicate that the service provided includes any form of sexual or nude entertainment.

(5) A massage parlour proprietor shall not carry on his or her trade within the City before the hour of 8:00 o'clock a.m. or after 11:00 o'clock p.m. on any day.

(6) No person shall carry on the trade of a massage parlour proprietor in any of the following communities within the City of Winnipeg:

Assiniboine Park - Fort Garry
East Kildonan - Transcona
Lord Selkirk - West Kildonan
St. Boniface - St. Vital
St. James - Assiniboia

(7) (a) No massage parlour proprietor shall carry on the business of a massage parlour at any place other than the premises named in the license for that trade.

(b) No massagist shall carry on the occupation of a massagist at any place other than the premises named in the license for that trade.

Schedule "A"	Item 33A. Dating and Escort Service -----	\$3,000.00
	33B. Escort -----	\$30.00
	Item 63. Massage Parlour Proprietor -----	\$3,000.00
	64. Massagist -----	\$30.00

PART V
DISORDERLY HOUSES, GAMING AND BETTING

Interpretation

Definitions — "Bet" — "Common bawdy-house" — "Common betting house" — "Common gaming house" — "Disorderly house" — "Game" — "Gaming equipment" — "Keeper" — "Place" — "Public place" — Exception — Onus — Effect when game partly played on premises.

179. (1) In this Part

"bet" means a bet that is placed on any contingency or event that is to take place in or out of Canada, and without restricting the generality of the foregoing, includes a bet that is placed on any contingency relating to a horse-race, fight, match or sporting event that is to take place in or out of Canada;

"common bawdy-house" means a place that is

- (a) kept or occupied, or
- (b) resorted to by one or more persons

for the purpose of prostitution or the practice of acts of indecency;

"common betting house" means a place that is opened, kept or used for the purpose of

- (a) enabling, encouraging or assisting persons who resort thereto to bet between themselves or with the keeper, or
- (b) enabling any person to receive, record, register, transmit or pay bets or to announce the results of betting;

"common gaming house" means a place that is

- (a) kept for gain to which persons resort for the purpose of playing games, or
- (b) kept or used for the purpose of playing games
 - (i) in which a bank is kept by one or more but not all of the players,
 - (ii) in which all or any portion of the bets on or proceeds from a game is paid, directly or indirectly, to the keeper of the place,
 - (iii) in which, directly or indirectly, a fee is charged to or paid by the players for the privilege of playing or participating in a game or using gaming equipment, or
 - (iv) in which the chances of winning are not equally favourable to all persons who play the game, including the person, if any, who conducts the game;

"disorderly house" means a common bawdy-house, a common betting house or a common gaming house;

"game" means a game of chance or mixed chance and skill;

"gaming equipment" means anything that is or may be used for the purpose of playing games or for betting;

"keeper" includes a person who

- (a) is an owner or occupier of a place,
- (b) assists or acts on behalf of an owner or occupier of a place,
- (c) appears to be, or to assist or act on behalf of an owner or occupier of a place,

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- (d) has the care or management of a place, or
- (e) uses a place permanently or temporarily, with or without the consent of the owner or occupier;

"place" includes any place, whether or not

- (a) it is covered or enclosed,
- (b) it is used permanently or temporarily, or
- (c) any person has an exclusive right of user with respect to it;

"public place" includes any place to which the public have access as of right or by invitation, express or implied. 1972, c. 13, s. 13.

(2) A place is not a common gaming house within the meaning of paragraph (a) or subparagraph (b)(ii) or (iii) of the definition "common gaming house" in subsection (1) while it is occupied and used by an incorporated *bona fide* social club or branch thereof, if

- (a) the whole or any portion of the bets on or proceeds from games played therein is not directly or indirectly paid to the keeper thereof, and
- (b) no fee is charged to persons for the right or privilege of participating in the games played therein other than under the authority of and in accordance with the terms of a licence issued by the Attorney General of the province in which the place is situated or by such other person or authority in the province as may be specified by the Attorney General thereof.

(3) The onus of proving that, by virtue of subsection (2), a place is not a common gaming house is on the accused.

(4) A place may be a common gaming house notwithstanding that

- (a) it is used for the purpose of playing part of a game and another part of the game is played elsewhere; or
- (b) the stake that is played for is in some other place. R.S., c. C-34, s. 179; 1972, c. 13, s. 13.

§1 "Common bawdy-house"—Under s. 179 (1) "kept or occupied" and "resorted to" in the definition of "common bawdy house", necessitate a frequent or habitual use of premises for the purposes of prostitution: *Patterson*, [1968] S.C.R. 157, 3 C.R.N.S. 23, [1968] 2 C.C.C. 247, 67 D.L.R. (2d) 82. Actual acts of prostitution need not be shown: *Sorko*, [1969] 4 C.C.C. 241 (B.C. C.A.).

A charge that accused were unlawfully keepers of a common bawdy-house does not disclose an offence known to the law.

"It is apparent from the majority judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada in *R. v. Kerim* [1963] 1 C.C.C. 233, [1963] S.C.R. 124, 39 C.R. 390, that not every keeper as defined in s. 179 of the *Criminal Code* is one who keeps a common bawdy-house within the meaning of s. 193 of the *Criminal Code*, and it is not an offence known to the law to be simply a keeper without the ingredient of *mens rea* referred to in the *Kerim* case." per Jessup J.A. in *Catalano* (1977), 37 C.C.C. (2d) 255 (Ont. C.A.).

"Common gaming house"—"Kept or used" in s. 179(1)(b) requires use of the premises in a frequent or habitual manner and evidence of use of premises on one occasion for a "floating crap game" is insufficient: *Rockert* (1978), 38 C.C.C. (2d) 438, 81 D.L.R. (3d) 759, 19 N.R. 308, 2 C.R. (3d) 97 (S.C.C.). One who provides facilities, accommodation and refreshments to gamblers is a keeper of a common gaming house: *Karavasilis* (1980), 54 C.C.C. (2d) 530 (Ont. C.A.). See under s. 185. It is enough if the room be kept for the "purpose" of gain and it is unnecessary to prove that in fact there was gain: *Le Francois* (1981), 63 C.C.C. (2d) 380 (Que. C.A.).

Poo How Do., [1965] 2 C.C.C. 51 (Que. C.A.). For a discussion on "bank", see *Monroe* (1970), 74 W.W.R. 373, 1 C.C.C. (2d) 68 (B.C. C.A.).

§3 "Prostitution" — As to what is meant by "prostitution", in s. 179, see *Lantay*, [1966] 1 O.R. 503, 47 C.R. 72, [1966] 3 C.C.C. 270 (C.A.), where it was held that the term covers the situation as in a massage parlour where the female "offers her body commonly for lewdness, for payment in return", such as performing acts of masturbation on customers.

Presumptions

Presumptions — Conclusive presumption from slot machine — "Slot machine" defined.

180. (1) In proceedings under this Part,

(a) evidence that a peace officer who was authorized to enter a place was wilfully prevented from entering or was wilfully obstructed or delayed in entering is, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, proof that the place is a disorderly house;

(b) evidence that a place was found to be equipped with gaming equipment or any device for concealing, removing or destroying gaming equipment is, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, proof that the place is a common gaming house or a common betting house, as the case may be;

(c) evidence that gaming equipment was found in a place entered under a warrant issued pursuant to this Part, or on or about the person of anyone found therein, is, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, proof that the place is a common gaming house and that the persons found therein were playing games, whether or not any person acting under the warrant observed any persons playing games therein; and

(d) evidence that a person was convicted of keeping a disorderly house is, for the purpose of proceedings against any one who is alleged to have been an inmate or to have been found in that house at the time the person committed the offence of which he was convicted, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, proof that the house was, at that time, a disorderly house.

(2) For the purpose of proceedings under this Part, a place that is found to be equipped with a slot machine shall be conclusively presumed to be a common gaming house.

(3) In subsection (2), "slot machine" means any automatic machine or slot machine

(a) that is used or intended to be used for any purpose other than vending merchandise or services; or

(b) that is used or intended to be used for the purpose of vending merchandise or services if

(i) the result of one of any number of operations of the machine is a matter of chance or uncertainty to the operator,

(ii) as a result of a given number of successive operations by the operator the machine produces different results, or

(iii) on any operation of the machine it discharges or emits a slug or token,

but does not include an automatic machine or slot machine that dispenses as prizes only one or more free games on that machine. R.S., c. C-34, s. 180; 1974-75-76, c. 93, s. 10.

§1 Presumption] — If an accused is able to raise a reasonable doubt as to his guilt, he may, under certain circumstances, be entitled to an acquittal notwithstanding this presumption which is only prima facie evidence: *Hellenic Colonization Assn.* [1943] 2 W.W.R. 481, 80 C.C.C. 22, [1943] 3 D.L.R. 503 (Alta. C.A.); *Mack* (1960), 128 C.C.C. 285 (B.C. C.A.).

This section merely places an evidentiary rebuttable burden on an accused and hence is not contrary to s. 2(f) of the Canadian Bill of Rights: *Delisle* (1979), 11 C.R. (3d) 277, 50 C.C.C. (2d) 317 (B.C. C.A.).

§2 "Slot machine"] — For a discussion on what is or is not a "slot machine", see *Topechka*, [1960] S.C.R. 898, 34 C.R. 148, 34 W.W.R. 97, 128 C.C.C. 404 at 406, where Taschereau J., said: "What the law forbids is a machine that by electronic devices or other means defeats the ability of the player to obtain favourable results." A machine which does nothing but amuse, is a machine for vending "services" and is not illegal: *Laphkas*, [1942] S.C.R. 84, 77 C.C.C. 142, [1942] 2 D.L.R. 47.

See *Currie* (1975), 30 C.R.N.S. 28, 26 C.C.C. (2d) 161 (Ont. C.A.), application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada dismissed at 26 C.C.C. (2d) 161n, for a full discussion on the meaning of a "game" and "slot machine".

Search

Warrant to search — Search without warrant, seizure and arrest — Disposal of property seized — When declaration or direction may be made — Conversion into money — Telephones exempt from seizure — Exception.

181. (1) A justice who receives from a peace officer a report in writing that he has reasonable ground to believe and does believe that an offence under section 185, 186, 187, 189, 190 or 193 is being committed at any place within the jurisdiction of the justice may issue a warrant under his hand authorizing a peace officer to enter and search the place by day or night and seize anything found therein that may be evidence that an offence under section 185, 186, 187, 189, 190 or 193, as the case may be, is being committed at that place, and to take into custody all persons who are found in or at that place and requiring those persons and things to be brought before him or before another justice having jurisdiction, to be dealt with according to law.

(2) A peace officer may, whether or not he is acting under a warrant issued pursuant to this section, take into custody any person whom he finds keeping a common gaming house and any person whom he finds therein, and may seize anything that may be evidence that such an offence is being committed and shall bring those persons and things before a justice having jurisdiction, to be dealt with according to law.

(3) Except where otherwise expressly provided by law, a court, judge, justice or magistrate before whom anything that is seized under this section is brought may declare that the thing is forfeited, in which case it shall be disposed of or dealt with as the Attorney General may direct if no person shows sufficient cause why it should not be forfeited.

(4) No declaration or direction shall be made pursuant to subsection (3) in respect of anything seized under this section until

- (a) it is no longer required as evidence in any proceedings that are instituted pursuant to the seizure, or
- (b) the expiration of thirty days from the time of seizure where it is not required as evidence in any proceedings.

(5) The Attorney General may, for the purpose of converting anything forfeited under this section into money, deal with it in all respects as if he were the owner thereof.

(6) Nothing in this section or in section 445 authorizes the seizure, forfeiture or destruction of telephone, telegraph or other communication facilities or equipment that may be evidence of or that may have been used in the commission of an offence under section 185, 186, 187, 189, 190 or 193 and that is owned by a person engaged in providing telephone, telegraph or other communication service to the public or forming part of the telephone, telegraph or other communication service or system of such a person.

(7) Subsection (6) does not apply to prohibit the seizure, for use as evidence, of any facility or equipment described in that subsection that is designed or adapted to record a communication. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 171; 1968-69, c. 37, s. 1; 1968-69, c. 38, s. 10.

§1 Report in writing] — The receiving of a “report in writing” is a prerequisite to the issuing of a search warrant under this section, which can only be resorted to with respect to those sections set out therein: *MacKenzie*, [1973] 2 W.W.R. 193, 21 C.R.N.S. 284, 10 C.C.C. (2d) 193 (Sask. S.C.).

As to the execution of a warrant, an order to search under this section need not be executed by the officer to whom it is addressed, nor need the officer be present in order to make the search valid if the warrant is addressed generally to all peace officers as well as the one peace officer in particular: *Miller*, [1951] O.W.N. 230, 11 C.R. 324, 99 C.C.C. 79 (Co. Ct.).

Search for woman in bawdy-house — Use of force.

182. (1) A justice who is satisfied by information upon oath that there is reasonable ground to believe that a female person has been enticed to or is concealed in a common bawdy-house may issue a warrant under his hand authorizing a peace officer or other person named therein to enter and search the place, by day or night, and requiring her and the keeper of the place to be brought before him or another justice having jurisdiction to be kept in custody or released as he considers proper.

(2) A peace officer may, for the purpose of executing a warrant issued under section 181 or this section, use as much force as is necessary to effect entry into the place in respect of which the warrant is issued. 1953-54, c. 51, ss. 172, 173.

§1 Excessive force] — See s. 26 as to excessive force.

Examination of persons arrested in disorderly houses — Person refusing to be examined — Use of evidence.

183. (1) A justice before whom a person is taken pursuant to a warrant issued under section 181 or 182 may require that person to be examined on oath and to give evidence with respect to

- (a) the purpose for which the place referred to in the warrant is or has been used, kept or occupied, and
- (b) any matter relating to the execution of the warrant.

(2) A person to whom this section applies who

- (a) refuses to be sworn, or
- (b) refuses to answer a question,

may be dealt with in the same manner as a witness appearing before a superior court of criminal jurisdiction pursuant to a subpoena.

(3) No evidence that is given by a person under this section may be used or received in evidence in any criminal proceedings against him, except proceedings for perjury in giving that evidence. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 174.

§1 Purpose] — See *Re Sommerville* (1962), 37 C.R. 400, 38 W.W.R. 344, 133 C.C.C. 323 (Sask. Q.B.), for a discussion of the purpose of this section.

Obstruction

Obstructing execution of warrant.

184. Every one who, for the purpose of preventing, obstructing or delaying a peace officer who is executing a warrant issued under this Part in respect of a disorderly house or who is otherwise authorized to enter a disorderly house, does anything, or being the keeper of the disorderly house, permits anything to be done to give effect to that purpose is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 175.

§1 Penalty] — Penalty on summary conviction, see s. 722(1).

§2 Example] — For an example of obstruction, see *Ewaschuk* (1955), 63 Man. R. 58, 21 C.R. 153, 15 W.W.R. 156, 111 C.C.C. 377 (C.A.).

Gaming and betting

Keeping gaming or betting house — Person found in or owner permitting use.

185. (1) Every one who keeps a common gaming house or common betting house is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

(2) Every one who

(a) is found, without lawful excuse, in a common gaming house or common betting house, or

(b) as owner, landlord, lessor, tenant, occupier or agent, knowingly permits a place to be let or used for the purposes of a common gaming house or common betting house,

is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 176.

§1 Jurisdiction] The jurisdiction of a magistrate or provincial Judge is absolute under s. 483(c)(ii).

§2 No actual betting] A conviction for keeping a common betting house can be supported even though no actual betting is proven to have taken place on the premises, provided that there are other facts in evidence to establish the keeping of the place for the purpose of betting: *Porta*, 61 B.C.R. 103, [1945] 1 W.W.R. 351, 83 C.C.C. 292, [1945] 2 D.L.R. 591 (C.A.).

§3 "Keeping"] For a discussion on "keeping" and the distinction between the two subsections of s. 185, see *Kerim*, [1963] S.C.R. 124, 39 C.R. 390, [1963] 1 C.C.C. 233, where it was held that the offence under subs. (1) "involves some act of participation in the wrongful use of the place". This sort of participation was found by the Court, in the case of *Howden Social Club*, 59 W.W.R. 596, [1968] 1 C.C.C. 41 (B.C. C.A.) where respondent Jones was the manager of the social club and "arranged" to have a person

act as trustee of the money which was to be awarded as a prize for the winner of the bingo games involved. The mere playing of a pinball game for amusement is not gaming and the awarding of free games as prizes does not render it unlawful: *Zappilli* (1980), 54 C.C.C. (2d) 481 (Ont. C.A.).

§4 Sentence] — As to sentence, see *Thomas*, [1968] 1 O.R. 1, [1968] 2 C.C.C. 84 (C.A.) where on a second offence, a sentence of 6 months and a fine of \$2,500 or a further 6 months was imposed.

§5 "Wheel of fortune"] — For a definition of "wheel of fortune" see *Andrews*, [1976] 1 W.W.R. 376, 32 C.R.N.S. 358, 28 C.C.C. (2d) 450 (Sask. C.A.).

§6 Found in] — A found-in is not a compellable witness for the Crown against the keeper: *Tonno* (1980), 54 C.C.C. (2d) 471 (Ont. Prov. Ct.).

Betting, pool-selling, book-making, etc. — Punishment.

186. (1) Every one commits an offence who

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person by playing a game in a vehicle, aircraft or vessel used as a public conveyance for passengers is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

(2) Every person in charge of a vehicle, aircraft or vessel and any person authorized by him may arrest, without warrant, a person who he has good reason to believe has committed or attempted to commit or is committing or attempting to commit an offence under this section.

(3) Every person who owns or operates a vehicle, aircraft or vessel to which this section applies shall keep posted up, in some conspicuous part thereof, a copy of this section or a notice to the like effect, and in default thereof is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 180.

§1 "Game"] -- "Game" means a game of chance or mixed skill and chance: s. 179(1).

Cheating at play.

192. Every one who, with intent to defraud any person, cheats while playing a game or in holding the stakes for a game or in betting is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for two years. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 181.

§1 Absolute jurisdiction of magistrate] See s. 483(c)(v).

§2 Course of action] By means of a false visual impression in the set up of a milk bottle toss game at a fair, the accused intended to induce a course of action which amounted to cheating: *McGarey* (1972), 19 C.R.N.S. 82, 6 C.C.C. (2d) 525, 26 D.L.R. (3d) 231 (S.C.C.).

No deceit was found in *Reilly* (1979), 48 C.C.C. (2d) 286 (Ont. C.A.).

§3 "Game"] See s. 179(1).

Bawdy-houses

Keeping common bawdy-house — Landlord, inmate, etc. — Notice of conviction to be served on owner — Duty of landlord on notice.

193. (1) Every one who keeps a common bawdy-house is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

(2) Every one who

- (a) is an inmate of a common bawdy-house,
- (b) is found, without lawful excuse, in a common bawdy-house, or
- (c) as owner, landlord, lessor, tenant, occupier, agent or otherwise having charge or control of any place, knowingly permits the place or any part thereof to be let or used for the purposes of a common bawdy-house,

is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.

(3) Where a person is convicted of an offence under subsection (1), the court shall cause a notice of the conviction to be served upon the owner, landlord or lessor of the place in respect of which the person is convicted or his agent, and the notice shall contain a statement to the effect that it is being served pursuant to this section.

(4) Where a person upon whom a notice is served under subsection (3) fails forthwith to exercise any right he may have to determine the tenancy or right of occupation of the person so convicted, and thereafter any person is convicted of an offence under subsection (1) in respect of the same premises, the person

upon whom the notice was served shall be deemed to have committed an offence under subsection (1) unless he proves that he has taken all reasonable steps to prevent the recurrence of the offence. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 182.

§1 **Jurisdiction**] — Absolute jurisdiction of magistrate, see s. 483(c)(vi).

§2 **General reputation**] — Evidence of the general reputation of a house is admissible on the issue of whether it is a common bawdy-house. As in the case of *Theilynck*, [1931] S.C.R. 478, 56 C.C.C. 156, [1931] 4 D.L.R. 591, it is sufficient if the evidence establishes that the house was being kept for the purpose of prostitution without direct proof of the act itself.

§3 **Habitual use**] — This element of habitual use is essential: see *Patterson*, [1968] S.C.R. 157, 3 C.R.N.S. 23, [1968] 2 C.C.C. 247, 67 D.L.R. (2d) 82, where there is a useful discussion of the cases and the principles to be derived therefrom. Phone calls emanating from a residence which give rise to acts of prostitution elsewhere are not enough to characterize the residence as a common bawdy-house: *Eguigary*, [1971] Que. C.A. 653, 15 C.R.N.S. 58 (Que. C.A.).

An apartment from where telephone calls were made arranging assignments but at which no acts of sexual intercourse took place is not a bawdy house: *Sheehan* (1978), 4 C.R. (3d) 306 (Que. C.A.). Where the Crown establishes only an isolated act of prostitution, in the absence of other circumstances indicating the house was being so used habitually, the conviction will not be sustained: *King*, [1965] 1 O.R. 389, [1965] 2 C.C.C. 324 (C.A.). A prostitute who uses a hotel on four occasions over a two-week period for assignments with men, in the absence of any other evidence is not a keeper of a common bawdy-house: *McLellan* (1980), 55 C.C.C. (2d) 543 (B.C. C.A.).

§4 **Included offences**] — As to included offences, being found in (s. 193(2)(b)), is not included in s. 193(1): *Labelle*, [1957] Que. Q.B. 21 (Que. C.A.), but "permitting" under s. 193(2)(c), is included under s. 193(1): *Lafreniere*, [1965] 1 O.R. 313, 44 C.R. 274, [1965] 1 C.C.C. 31 (S.C.).

§5 **Section 193(2)(c)**] — This section is not directed at an "owner, landlord . . ." per se, but rather at an "owner, landlord . . . having charge or control of the premises", so a landlord who has leased premises no longer has charge or control but could acquire it by evicting the tenant: *Wong* (1977), 2 Alta. L.R. (2d) 90, 33 C.C.C. (2d) 6, 2 A.R. 173 (C.A.).

Transporting person to bawdy-house.

194. Every one who knowingly takes, transports, directs, or offers to take, transport, or direct any other person to a common bawdy-house is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction. 1953-54, c. 51, s. 183.

§1 **Penalty**] — See s. 722(1).

Procuring

Procuring — Presumption — Corroboration — Limitation.

195. (1) Every one who

- (a) procures, attempts to procure or solicits a female person to have illicit sexual intercourse with another person, whether in or out of Canada,
- (b) inveigles or entices a female person who is not a common prostitute or a person of known immoral character to a common bawdy-house or house of assignation for the purpose of illicit sexual intercourse or prostitution,
- (c) knowingly conceals a female person in a common bawdy-house or house of assignation,

- (d) procures or attempts to procure a female person to become, whether in or out of Canada, a common prostitute,
- (e) procures or attempts to procure a female person to leave her usual place of abode in Canada, if that place is not a common bawdy-house, with intent that she may become an inmate or frequenter of a common bawdy-house, whether in or out of Canada,
- (f) on the arrival of a female person in Canada, directs or causes her to be directed, or takes or causes her to be taken, to a common bawdy-house or house of assignation,
- (g) procures a female person to enter or leave Canada, for the purpose of prostitution,
- (h) for the purposes of gain, exercises control, direction or influence over the movements of a female person in such manner as to show that he is aiding, abetting or compelling her to engage in or carry on prostitution with any person or generally,
- (i) applies or administers to a female person or causes her to take any drug, intoxicating liquor, matter, or thing with intent to stupefy or overpower her in order thereby to enable any person to have illicit sexual intercourse with her, or
- (j) lives wholly or in part on the avails of prostitution of another person, 1972, c. 13, s. 14.
- (k) [Repealed, 1972, c. 13, s. 14.]

is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for ten years.

(2) Evidence that a male person lives with or is habitually in the company of prostitutes, or lives in a common bawdy-house or house of assignation is, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, proof that he lives on the avails of prostitution.

(3) No person shall be convicted of an offence under subsection (1), other than an offence under paragraph (j) of that subsection, upon the evidence of only one witness unless the evidence of that witness is corroborated in a material particular by evidence that implicates the accused.

(4) No proceedings for an offence under this section shall be commenced more than one year after the time when the offence is alleged to have been committed. R.S., c. C-34, s. 195; 1972, c. 13, s. 14.

§1 “Habitually”—As to word “habitually” in subs. (2) see *Johnson*, 55 B.C.R. 481, [1940] 3 W.W.R. 623, 74 C.C.C. 324, [1941] 1 D.L.R. 782 (C.A.), where a 3 week period of association was held to suffice to shift the onus to accused. See also *Morin* (1957), 26 C.R. 226, 118 C.C.C. 234 (Ont. C.A.), where a 2 week period of cohabitation was held to be sufficient.

§2 Evidence of prostitute—Where evidence is given against accused by the prostitute involved, her evidence should be corroborated as she is an accomplice: *Morin*, supra, and *Fleming*, [1961] O.W.N. 9, 34 C.R. 137, 129 C.C.C. 423 (C.A.) not followed in *Clemens* (1980), 52 C.C.C. (2d) 259 (B.C. C.A.).

§3 Intercourse—It is a necessary ingredient of “procuring a female to have illicit sexual intercourse” that sexual intercourse takes place: *Gruba*, 66 W.W.R. 190, [1969] 2 C.C.C. 365 (B.C. C.A.).

§3a Sub. (1)(d)—There is no offence if the woman is already a prostitute or if accused believes she is a prostitute: *Cline* (1982), 65 C.C.C. (2d) 215, [1982] 2 W.W.R. 286 (C.A.).

§4 Section 195(i) (j)—The phrase “another person” cannot be construed as including the prostitute herself with the result that the prostitute can’t be charged with living

on the avails of her own prostitution: *Murphy* (1981), 21 C.R. (3d) 39 at 44, 30 A.R. 13, 60 C.C.C. (2d) 1 (Alta. C.A.).

§5 **Illicit**—The word “illicit” in this section is used in the sense of not being sanctioned or permitted by law and not necessarily in the sense of constituting a criminal offence: *Turner*, [1972] 5 W.W.R. 418, 8 C.C.C. (2d) 76 (B.C. C.A.).

§6 **Section 195(4)**—An indictment charging an offence falling partly outside the limitation period was amended on appeal so as to allege only the period falling within the limitation in circumstances where the accused had full knowledge of what was alleged and was not prejudiced: *Odgers*, [1978] 1 W.W.R. 312, 7 A.R. 192, 37 C.C.C. (2d) 554 (Alta. C.A.).

Soliciting

Soliciting.

195.1 Every person who solicits any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction. 1972, c. 13, s. 15.

§1 **Every person**—This section reads, every “person” who solicits, etc. and this includes a male person: *Obey*, [1973] 3 W.W.R. 382, 21 C.R.N.S. 11 C.C.C. (2d) 28 (B.C. S.C.).

A male customer cannot be convicted of soliciting: *Dudak*, [1978] 4 W.W.R. 334, 3 C.R. (3d) 68 at 72, 41 C.C.C. (2d) 31 (B.C. C.A.), contra, *Di Paola; Palatics* (1978), 4 C.R. (3d) 121 (Ont. C.A.).

§2 **Public place — pressing or persistent conduct**—A police car is not a “public place”. Further, solicitation requires conduct that is “pressing or persistent”: *Hutt*, [1978] 2 W.W.R. 247, 1 C.R. (3d) 164, 19 N.R. 330, 82 D.L.R. (3d) 95, 38 C.C.C. (2d) 418 (S.C.C.) approving *Rolland* (1975), 27 C.C.C. (2d) 485, 31 C.R.N.S. 68 (Ont. C.A.). A number of approaches to men, none pressing or persistent, cannot be lumped together so as to cumulatively form the requisite conduct: *Whitter* (1980), 54 C.C.C. (2d) 539, affirmed (1981), 64 C.C.C. (2d) 1 (S.C.C.).

§3 **Information-elements**—An information failing to name the person allegedly solicited is not a nullity: *Borden* (1981), 22 C.R. (3d) 207, 61 C.C.C. (2d) 122 (Ont. H.C.).

§4 **By-laws**—A Calgary by-law regulating prostitutes on the streets is *intra vires*: *Westendorp* (1982), 35 A.R. 228, 65 C.C.C. (2d) 417, [1982] 2 W.W.R. 728, 17 Alta. L.R. (2d) 204 (C.A.). Leave to appeal to S.C.C. granted May 17, 1982.

D. METHODOLOGICAL INFORMATION

D1. Community Agencies Contacted

D1. Community Agencies Contacted

SASKATOON COMMUNITY AGENCIES

A Room of One's Own
Community Aid Resource Centre
Crisis Intervention Unit
Elizabeth Fry Society of Saskatchewan
Indian and Metis Friendship Centre
Kilburn Hall
Larson Intervention House Inc.
Mental Health Association of Saskatchewan - Saskatoon Branch
Mount Royal Collegiate (High School)
Salvation Army
Sexually-transmitted Diseases Clinic
Sion School
United Church Inner City Ministry
University Hospital Youth Services
Westside Community Clinic
Y.W.C.A.
Youth Services Project (YSP)

WINNIPEG COMMUNITY AGENCIES

Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba
Catholic Welfare Bureau
Children's Home of Winnipeg
Community Ministry House
Core Area Initiatives
Council of Women of Winnipeg
Dumont Local of the Manitoba Metis Federation
Elizabeth Fry Society of Manitoba
Freight House
Friendship Centre
Health and Welfare (Federal Government)
Hope Centre Health Care Inc.
Immaculate Drop In
Indian Family Centre
Interagency Group (a multi-group organization)
Kia-Zon Inc.
Legal Aid Manitoba
Main Street Project
Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women
Marymound
Mount Carmel Clinic
Native Alcoholism Council of Manitoba
Native Clan Organization Inc.
Native Women's Centre

WINNIPEG COMMUNITY AGENCIES (Cont'd)

Native Women's Transition Centre
Osborne House - Crisis Centre for Women
Planned Parenthood
Preventative Health Services
Provincial Council of Women
Rossbrook House
Salvation Army Family Services Centre
Salvation Army Harbour Light Home
Social Planning Council of Winnipeg
The Klinik
Training Resources for Youth (T.R.Y.)
United Church Native Ministry
Victim/Witness Assistance (In conjunction with City Police)
Winnipeg Education Centre
YWCA

CALGARY COMMUNITY AGENCIES

Alberta 7th Step Society
Calgary Alpha House Society
Calgary Distress Centre/Drug Centre
Calgary Sexual Assault Centre
Calgary Urban Indian Youth
Calgary Women's Emergency Shelter
Calgary Youth Aid Centre
Elizabeth Fry Society of Calgary
Exodus I
Mental Health Association
Renfrew Recovery Centre
Salvation Army - Parkwood House
Salvation Army - Suicide Prevention - Corrections Services
The Basement
The Villa
William Ropper Hall Home
Woods Christian Home
Y.W.C.A.

D2. Correctional/Offices/Installations Contacted

ALBERTA

Altadore House
Bow River Correctional Center
Calgary Correctional Center
Parole Service Office
Portal House
Probation Service Office
Ramsey House

MANITOBA

Manitoba Youth Centre
Marymound
Parole Service Office
Provincial Corrections - Main Office
Remand Holding Unit - Detention Center - Public Safety Building
Women's Correctional Center

SASKATCHEWAN

Pine Grove Correctional Center (Females)
Saskatchewan Penitentiary (Protective custody - Males - Federal)

D3. Newspaper Ad and News Item

Study seeks to interview prostitutes

By Doug McConachie
of the Star-Phoenix

"Wanted: prostitutes, young and old, willing to talk about themselves, their customers, their lifestyle. Anonymity guaranteed."

That advertisement has begun appearing in newspapers across Canada as a Department of Justice study begins to find out "all the facts" about prostitution in Canada.

In Saskatoon, university professor Melanie Lauff is launching Project TAP (Towards an Awareness of Prostitution) that is being keyed to studies in other cities such as Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal.

It's a study that eventually will be presented to the Fraser Commission studying pornography and prostitution, and it may be the largest study ever undertaken into the issue.

"The federal government wants to find out what is going on so we're doing an independent study," Lauff said in an interview. "We're not interested in names, but we are interested in what is going on."

While TAP will be talking with police officials, social service agencies, escort agencies and even business owners in the districts prostitutes frequent, its main thrust is to talk to the prostitutes themselves.

"We'll meet them just about anywhere, on their terms," Lauff says, so prostitutes worried about anonymity can be assured they don't have to reveal their identity.

The study wants to determine the general working conditions of prostitutes, particularly those who walk the streets, as well as their medical history, where they work, whether they work for pimps, the ages of their customers (but not their names), whether they work under threats and whether there is any security in prostitution.

In Saskatoon, TAP has a recorded message for people calling 652-2933. Callers can leave a phone number or a place and a time to meet, and interviewers will follow up. Or if prostitutes are afraid to telephone, they can write P.O. Box 3729.

Escort Services

13

Personal

14

(Continued)

ABOUT TOWN
REOPENS
WITH THOSE WILD
AND EXCITING LADIES
YOU'VE BEEN WAITING FOR
CALL 242-0202 TODAY!

Adorable Young Ladies
RAINBOW ESCORTS
382-6770
Cheques Accepted

AFFAIR ESCORTS
384-6020. In-town cliques. VISA.

ANGELS TOUCH
First for Earthly Delights
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☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆
Announcing
CAPRICORN LADIES
653-2685

VISA/Cheques
10 a.m. - 4 a.m.
☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

ANNOUNCING
EBONY & IVORY
477-1221
Cheques & Visa Welcome
Something Beautiful

Behind Closed Doors
For tonight's sweet dreams
665-2586
CHEQUES ACCEPTED

BROOKS
Friendly Escorts - VISA
652-0744

BUNNY'S PALACE
We offer a personal
Service with a personal touch 384-8611.

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆
Dazzling Nights
AFTER FIVE
"An enchanting evening"
653-2526

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10 a.m. - 4 a.m.
☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

DIAL A DARLING
934-2020

DREAM GIRL
THE ESCORT AGENCY WHERE
YOUR DREAMS COME TRUE
384-8505

DREAMS COME TRUE
WHEN YOU CALL
BABY BLUE
934-5122
LET US PAMPER YOU

EIFFEL ESCORTS
Phone 384-3707. Open from 8 to 5.
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Executive's Corner
Why waste your time on the rest call
the best. 665-3173 or 665-3177.

FIRST CLASS LADIES
Personal satisfaction and date
attractiveness guaranteed. Call us at:
933-1166

For Your Next
Escort Call
FRIENDLY NIGHT
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VISA Accepted

FRENCH QUARTER
Executive Escorts
665-3345

For every mood & every moment
10 a.m. - 4 a.m.
Cheques/VISA

LADY MICHELLE
Exotic Escorts
653-3150
VISA/Cheques

LA ROSE'S ESCORTS
Continued

Don't know who to call
Try us 665-8722 or 665-8622.

PARK AVE
Ask for the escorts of your dreams
934-4622

PASSION PLAY
244-8712

Temptations Escorts
665-2150 VISA/Cheques

VIP
First class ladies for the personal
touch. Cheques accepted. 933-1166.
GUARANTEED ATTRACTIVE.

WORLD FOR MEN
For the occasion to remember
Call 933-8432

BOARD & Room. Ladies only dai-
ly/monthly rates. King Street Resi-
dence. 242-7336.

DONOVAN - Anyone with informa-
tion regarding the birth, death, and
children's names of Andrew New-
ton Donovan son of Michael and
Rebecca Donovan, Halifax, Nova
Scotia. He died in Saskatoon after
1942. Please contact Ms. G.D.
Judge, 6058 Pepperell Street, #32
Halifax, Nova Scotia. 83M 2N7.

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Madame Karlme. Expert. South
American card reader. Will do read-
ings. Call anytime for appointment
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rates. Save 30% or more. For
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lation of Plumbing and Heating
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Get your favorite Shalene products de-
livered to your door. Call Tele-a-serve
now 282-6897.

I'M EXCITED ABOUT TOMORROW
I'm an attractive, single, busy profes-
sional lady with very little time to
meet people. I find it difficult to relate
to the swarming single scene, and I'm
not interested in being part of it. That
is why I joined Saskatoon Computer
Date. I like the idea of old fashioned
introduction and someone else doing
the searching for me. You never know
who is around the corner and Comput-
er Date can help you find out. For in-
formation Ph. 247-3861 weekdays from
1 - 5:30 am. and Sat. 11:30 - 3:30.

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VITAMINS-MINERALS-HERBS.
Dist. of Herbal products - 374-7371.

MAGIC MOMENTS DATING SERVICE
If you've been thinking about joining a
dating service, now's the time. We
need only 15 more new members be-
fore we have our free draw for a trip
for 2 to Reno, Nevada. So call us now
at 244-3864 because we give you the
type of personal and confidential ser-
vice you'd expect from a dating club.

MR. WHEELER DEALER pays
cash for anything of value - furni-
ture, jewelry, unwanted house-
hold goods, stereo's, TV's, VCR's,
cameras, etc. 652-0146 24 hrs.

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An amazing new product, a shampoo
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hair loss and promotes possible re-
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guarantee. Phone 373-7050 after 5.

OUT OF province female teacher
(non-smoker, non-drinker) re-
quires bed sitting room with pri-
vate bath from mid August until
University graduation. Location
near U of S preferred, but not es-
sential if on bus line. Phone 343-
0308.

PROJECT T.A.P.
Towards an Awareness of
Prostitution

What are the facts about
prostitution in Saskatoon?

Project T.A.P. is part of a national re-
search project funded by the Depart-
ment of Justice. The purpose of the re-
search is to gather information about
prostitution in the Prairie region from
prostitutes, pimps, customers, police,
business and community groups.
If you have knowledge about this area,
please write: P.O. Box 8799, Saska-
toon, Sask. S7N 3N7.
or phone 652-7973 before April 30th,
1984 (answering service after April 31).

Anonymity Guaranteed
(Identities of respondents will be held
in strictest confidence)

RAWLEIGH PRODUCTS Distri-
butorship available. 382-0048.

READER & ADVISOR
Palm and card reading will help you
on all problems in life. See her 31
Contd. Ph. Flea Market, Sunday's
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20th St. West. 244-5685. Manufacturers
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**ROYCE YOUR card is the 6 of
clubs.**

**SANDY YOUR card is the 6 of
clubs.**

SASKATONE SOCIAL Club Ann-
iversary Dance for Members &
Guests. Sat. March 31. Airlinton
Hall. No Jeans. Music: Blue Cris-
tal. For info call 664-8607.

Saskatoon's Single Club
House Party

D4. Voluntary consent form

BOX 8729
SASKATOON CANADA
S7K 6N7
343-2743

PROJECT T. A. P.

TOWARDS AN AWARENESS OF PROSTITUTION

FUNDED BY
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

PROJECT CO-ORDINATOR: MELANIE LAUTT

SASKATOON, CANADA
S7N 0W0

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM

I hereby confirm that I agree voluntarily to be interviewed by a member of the research team from PROJECT TAP, a federally funded study of Prostitution in the Prairie Region.

I understand that I may remain anonymous, and that any information I provide will be held in confidence.

Signature of Respondent: _____

Date: _____

Witness: _____

Date: _____

D5. Interview Guides

Objectives of this Research Project

This study of prostitution in the prairies is part of a national study taking place all across the country, to provide factual information to the Fraser Committee. This is a committee put together by the Minister of Justice for Canada, to collect Canadian's views on pornography and prostitution. We have been asked to collect information on the occupational world of prostitution. All the opinions and facts collected across the country will form the basis for the members of the Fraser Committee to review existing laws related to all aspects of prostitution, and to give advice to the Minister of Justice about how to change those laws, if at all.

Statement of Confidentiality

None of the specific information you give me will be seen by anyone except the researchers collecting these facts. The report we will make about our findings to the Fraser Committee will not identify individuals or individual experiences.

Date: _____

Location: _____

Identity#/Pseudonym _____

Gender of Respondent: M ____ F ____

Time Started: _____

Time Completed: _____

Interviewer(s): _____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

WORKING RESPONDENTS

1. Are you presently working within this occupation?

Yes: _____

No: _____

2. If no, have you ever worked within this occupation?

Yes: _____, when did you quit? _____

No: _____

3. What terms (words) do you use to describe the work you do?

4. Do other persons use these terms to describe the work they do?

Yes: _____ No: _____

5. If no, what other terms do they use?

6. What makes one term different from another?

7. What are the names you use to refer to your customers?

8. What makes one name different from another?

9. What forms of prostitution have you ever been involved in?

_____ Street

_____ Hotel/Bar

_____ Telephone/Escort

_____ Massage Parlour

_____ other (specify) _____

What form of prostitution are you currently involved in?

10. Do you currently work in one specific area of Saskatoon?

Yes: _____ No: _____

11. Do you work in any of the following areas?

East of Idylwyld _____ (a)

West of Idylwyld _____ (b)

North of 22nd _____ (c)

South of 22nd _____ (d)

Other (specify) _____

12. Did you choose this (or these) area(s)?

Yes: _____ Why? _____

How? _____

No: _____ Why Not? _____

Who Did? _____

13. How long have you been working in this area?

_____ 1 month or less

_____ 1 to 2 months

_____ 2 to 3 months

_____ 3 to 4 months

_____ 4 to 5 months

_____ more than 5 months (specify) _____

14. Have you working in other areas?

East of Idylwyld _____ (a)

West of Idylwyld _____ (b)

North of 22nd _____ (c)

South of 22nd _____ (d)

Other (specify) _____

15. Why do you (do you not) change location?

16. What type of neighbourhood do you usually work in?

_____ business/commercial type? _____ retail stores

_____ hotels

_____ offices

_____ restaurants

_____ residential

17. Are the local residents of this area aware of the work you do?

Yes: _____ No: _____ Don't Know: _____

18. In general, how do the local residents of this area react to your working there?

No reaction _____

Negative reaction _____ Specify How: _____

Positive reaction _____ Specify How: _____

19. Do residents complain to you about your working in this area?

Yes _____ In what way? _____

No _____

20. Do residents complain to police about your working in this area?

Yes _____ How frequently? _____

No _____

Don't know _____

21. Do residents of this area assist you in any way?

Yes _____ Who? _____

How? _____

No _____

22. How old were you when you began working in this occupation?

Age _____

23. Where did you begin working?

Saskatoon _____ What area (see #11) _____

Other city/town (specify) _____

Province _____

Other (specify) _____

24. In general, why would you say that you became involved in this work?

25. How did you get into this work? (Describe, that is, how? whom?)

26. Generally, what time does your work day begin?

_____ Before 12:00 p.m.
_____ 12:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.
_____ 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.
_____ 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.
_____ 9:00 p.m. to 12:00 a.m.
_____ after 12:00 a.m. (Specify) _____

27. How many hours do you usually work in a day?

_____ 0 to 5 hours

_____ 5 to 10 hours

_____ more than 10 hours

28. On the average, how much time do you spend with a customer?

29. On the average, how many customers do you see in a day?

30. Are some days of the week usually busier than others?

Yes _____ Specify _____

No _____

31. How many days a week do you generally work? _____

32. What are your busiest times of the year?

33. Does winter affect your work?

Yes _____ How? _____

No _____

34. How do you contact your customers?

_____ in person

_____ by telephone

_____ through a third person (specify) _____

35. Where do you contact your customers?

_____ street

_____ bars/lounges

_____ hotels

_____ other (specify) _____

36. Do customers contact you?

Yes _____ Where? _____

How? _____

No _____

37. What words or phrases do you use to attract potential customers?

38. What do you do if he/she refuses?

_____ ask again

_____ follow them

_____ try a different approach

_____ give up

_____ other

39. How do persons refuse? (i.e., what do they say?)

40. Have you ever refused a potential customer?

Yes: _____ No: _____

41. If "yes" could you give some examples where you have, or would, refuse a potential customer?

42. What age group do most of your customers come from?

☐ under 16
☐ 16-18
☐ 18-25
☐ 25-35
☐ 35-45
☐ 45-55
☐ over 55

43. What income group would best describe your customers?

☐ upper
☐ middle
☐ low
☐ all of the above
☐ don't know

44. Are your customers

☐ all male
☐ all female
☐ both male and female
(estimate % of Male _____ Female _____)
☐ male and female together

45. Do your customers come to you drunk or on drugs?

- _____ all
- _____ most
- _____ some
- _____ very few
- _____ none

46. What types of services do customers ask for? (List, estimate %)

47. What types of services do you prefer to provide? (Why?)

48. What services do you least like to provide? (Why?)

49. Do customers use, or refer to, pornographic material in your presence?

- ☐ all
- ☐ most
- ☐ some
- ☐ very few
- ☐ none

Expand, or provide examples if appropriate.

50. Do you have regular customers? (Explain)

51. Generally, are your customers

- ☐ single
- ☐ married
- ☐ divorced/separated
- ☐ widowed
- ☐ living with someone
- ☐ don't know

52. Where do you take your customers?

- _____ hotel
- _____ motel
- _____ your home
- _____ customer's home
- _____ other person's home (specify _____)
- _____ public building (specify _____)
- _____ outside (specify _____)
- _____ car
- _____ other (specify _____)

53. Do you let others know where you are taking your customer?

Yes: _____ No: _____

If yes, who? _____

how? _____

54. How is the price set? (Explain)

55. Is there an average price for particular services? (Explain)

56. Have you ever been paid in ways other than with money
(i.e., goods, favours, services)

Yes _____ Specify _____

No _____

57. When does your customer pay you?

_____ Before

_____ After

_____ other

58. Are you self-employed?

Yes: _____ No: _____

59. If no, do you work for one person?

Yes _____ Is this person:

Male _____ Female _____

Native _____ Non-native _____

Related to you _____ How? _____

Located in Saskatoon _____

Another prostitute _____

Do others work for this person?

Yes _____ # _____

No _____

Don't know _____

No _____ Do you work for a group?

Yes _____ Explain _____

No _____

Do you work for an agency or escort service?

Yes: _____ No: _____

60. How much of your earnings do you pay to someone else?

_____ none

specify amount _____

61. In relation to your work, have you ever been:

a. Threatened/Verbally abused: Yes: _____ No: _____

By whom (Describe or provide examples):

Customer _____

Employer _____

Other workers _____

Mate/lover _____

Family members _____

Community residents (specify whom) _____

Police _____

Other _____

b. Sexually abused: Yes: _____ No: _____

By whom (Explain circumstances):

Customer _____

Employer _____

Other workers _____

Mate/lover _____

Family members _____

Community residents (specify) _____

Police _____

Other _____

Number of times in past year? _____

Did you report it to police? Yes: _____ No: _____

(Expand if appropriate)

c. Physically abused: Yes _____ No _____

By whom (Explain circumstances):

Customer _____

Employer _____

Other workers _____

Mate/lover _____

Family members _____

Community residents (specify) _____

Police _____

Other _____

Number of times in past year? _____

Did you report it to police? Yes: _____ No: _____

(Expand if appropriate)

62. In relation to your work, have you ever:

a. Threatened/verbally abused (explain circumstances)

Customers _____

Employer _____

Other Workers _____

Community Residents _____

Police _____

Other _____

b. Physically assaulted (explain circumstances):

Customers _____

Employer _____

Other Workers _____

Community Residents _____

Police _____

Other _____

63. Do you carry a weapon? (Explain)

64. Have you ever worked at

_____ a convention

_____ a stag

_____ a work camp (i.e., mining, logging, etc.)

65. Do you socialize with other "working" women/men?
(Describe how and when)

66. In terms of your work, what is your relation to the
following (explain)

Bartenders _____

Cab Drivers _____

Hotel Doormen/Bellhops _____

Hotel/Motel Clerks _____

Waiters/Waitresses _____

67. Have you ever been asked to participate in the production of the following (explain):

Films _____

Photographs _____

Videos _____

68. Do the police know what you work at?

Yes _____ No _____

69. Do the police know you by name?

Yes _____ No _____

70. Do the police affect your work in any way? If so, how?

71. In relation to your work, have you ever been:

Picked up (describe circumstances)

Arrested: Yes _____ Did you contact someone?

Yes _____ No _____

Who _____

No _____

Charged: Yes _____ Did you go to court?

Yes _____ No _____

Were you convicted?

Yes _____ No _____

No _____ What sentence did you receive?

_____ discharge

_____ probation

_____ fine

_____ jail

Did anyone go to court with you?

Yes _____ No _____

Who _____

72. In relation to your work, have you ever asked the police for protection or help? (Explain circumstances and response)

73. Have the police ever asked you for anything? (Explain)

74. Do you customers ever mention the police?

Yes _____ Explain: _____

No _____

Expand if appropriate:

75. Do you pay income tax?

Yes _____ No _____

Expand if appropriate:

76. What kind of work related costs do you have? (Explain)

77. Are drug and/or alcohol use a health problem in your work? (Explain)

78. Do you use any form of birth control?

Yes _____ What kind? _____

No _____

79. Are sexually transmitted diseases a problem (fear) for you?

Yes _____ Which ones? _____

No _____

80. If yes, what do you do about it? (explain)

81. In relation to your work, could you identify any other health related problems? (Describe)

82. Do you use any of the following kinds of social services or agencies?

_____ medical clinics

_____ counselling

_____ alcohol treatment

_____ food

_____ shelter

_____ emergency/medical

_____ other (list) _____

83. Are there any other types of social services that are needed, or would be useful? (List)

84. Do you have children?

Yes _____ How do your children affect your work?
(i.e., childcare, hours worked, etc.)

No _____

85. Prostitutes in some Canadian cities have formed groups to help each other out. Do you know of any groups like this in Saskatoon, or anywhere else you have been? (explain)

86. What are the law that apply to:

1. Prostitution

2. Living off the avails:

3. Bawdy houses

87. If the government did one of the following, how would this affect you?

88. Given the purpose of this research, what do you want to tell this committee about prostitution?

89. What do you think should be done about juveniles in prostitution?

Demographic Information

1. Age: _____

2. Religion:

_____ None

_____ Protestant

_____ Catholic

_____ Jewish

_____ other (specify _____)

3. Level of education (last completed year):

_____ less than grade 8

_____ grade 8 to 12

_____ some post secondary

_____ completed post secondary

4. Are you presently attending school?

Yes _____ No _____

5. Marital status

_____ single

_____ married

_____ separated

_____ widowed

_____ divorced

_____ living with someone

6. Do you

_____ live alone

_____ live with a roommate: male _____ female _____

_____ live with more than one roommate

_____ live with family (specify _____)

_____ other (specify _____)

7. Do you live in a
_____ house
_____ apartment
_____ hotel/motel
_____ other (specify _____)
8. Do you:
own _____ rent _____ your own dwelling?
9. Number of children _____
10. What ethnic group do you consider yourself a member of?

11. Where have you lived most of your life?
-- In a rural area: Yes _____ Specify _____
No _____
-- In an urban area: Yes _____ Specify _____
No _____
12. Number of sisters? _____
13. Number of brothers? _____
14. To your knowledge, are any of the members of your family involved in any aspect of this occupation?
Yes _____ Explain _____

No _____
15. We would like to get some information with regard to your family life. Could you indicate if any of the following situations were part of your early family life?
- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| -physical abuse | -abuse of drugs/alcohol |
| -sexual abuse | -spouse beating |
| -verbal abuse | -continuous arguments |
| (against yourself) | (among adults) |

Please describe.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADMINISTRATION TO POLICE PERSONNEL

Objectives of this Research Project:

This study of prostitution in the prairie region is part of a national study, taking place in various regions in Canada. The specific objective of this study is to collect factual information regarding the occupational world of prostitution. The data collected will be made available to the Fraser Committee—a committee put together by the Minister of Justice for Canada, to collect Canadians' views on pornography and prostitution in Canada. Ultimately, this information will be used to review existing laws relating to all aspects of prostitution, and to provide the data base for reforming these laws, if deemed appropriate.

Statement of Confidentiality:

None of the specific information you provide will be accessible to anyone except the researchers collecting these facts. The report provided to the Fraser Committee will not identify individuals or individual experiences.

Date: _____

Location: _____

Respondent: _____

Time Started: _____

Time Completed: _____

Interviewer: _____

Additional Comments: _____

1. In relation to your role as a police officer, what do you regard as constituting prostitution? (i.e., actual behaviours, particular acts, exchanges, locations, associates, etc.).

2. What laws are in place at the present time which allow you to control prostitution? Specify in relation to:

Prostitutes _____

Pimps _____

Clients _____

Bawdy Houses _____

Escort Services _____

Other _____

3. To your knowledge, have any laws been eliminated from the criminal code which were useful in enabling police to control prostitution? (Identify which ones and explain how.)

4. Are there presently, or have there been at some point in time, city by-laws in place which the police can use to control prostitution? (Specify in relation to street prostitution, escort services, etc.)

5. Have you ever charged anyone with any of the following: (Please provide details as to how frequently this occurs, over what time span, who is charged with these offences—i.e., prostitutes, pimps, clients, etc.—and any specific criteria which led to placing these charges.)

Soliciting: _____

Living off the avails: _____

Running a bawdy house: _____

Being a found-in: _____

Other: _____

6. How many persons have you charged with some facet of prostitution in the: (state number)

_____ past 6 months

_____ past year

_____ past 6 years

_____ before 1978

7. If, and when, a prostitute is charged with an offence related to prostitution, who would this person most likely contact?

☐ another prostitute

☐ pimp

☐ lawyer

☐ family

☐ other (specify) _____

8. What procedure is followed when a juvenile (person under 16) is brought in in relation to some facet of prostitution?

9. To your knowledge, what forms of prostitution occur in this city?

☐ street prostitution

☐ escort services

☐ call girls

☐ hotel/bar prostitution

☐ juvenile prostitution (under 16)

☐ massage parlours or body rub parlours

☐ other (specify) _____

10. As a police officer, which form(s) of prostitution are you most involved with?

☐ street prostitution ☐ escort services
☐ call girls ☐ hotel/bar prostitution
☐ juvenile prostitution (under 16)
☐ massage parlours or body rub parlours
☐ other (specify)

11. In what areas of this city is street prostitution most visible? (as specific as possible).

12. Are there any other areas where street prostitution occurs but is less visible?

13. Which of the following establishments are located in these areas?

☐ Residential housing ☐ Restaurants
☐ Hotels/Bars ☐ Arcades
☐ Motels ☐ Pool Halls
☐ Nightclubs
☐ Other Businesses (specify _____)

14. Are there any specific hotels or motels that prostitutes work out of or work around?

15. To your knowledge, is street prostitution in this city controlled by:

☐ Individuals involved in other criminal activities

(specify _____)

☐ Legitimate business people

☐ Families

☐ Networks of individuals

☐ Other (specify _____)
_____)

16. Are escort services in this city controlled by:

☐ Individuals involved in other criminal activities

(specify _____)

☐ Legitimate business people

☐ Families

☐ Networks of individuals

☐ Other (specify _____)
_____)

17. Are the persons that control street prostitution primarily

☐ male

☐ female

☐ equal proportions of males and females

18. Are the persons that control escort services primarily

☐ male

☐ female

☐ equal proportions of males and females

19. What is the approximate number of prostitutes currently working on the street?

20. What is the approximate number of escorts currently working in this city?

21. What percentage of the prostitutes working the street are:

_____ % female

_____ % male

_____ % native

_____ % white

_____ % black

_____ % juvenile

_____ % other (specify _____)

22. What percentage of the prostitutes working with escort agencies are:

_____ % female

_____ % male

_____ % native

_____ % white

_____ % black

_____ % juvenile

_____ % other (specify _____)

23. What is the average age of prostitutes working the streets? (or range of ages): _____

24. What is the average age of prostitutes working as escorts? (or range of ages): _____

25. How would you identify a prostitute:

☐ dress

☐ mannerisms

☐ associates

☐ location

☐ other (specify _____)

26. What do you do when you identify a new girl on the street?

27. What time of day are prostitutes most visible on the street?

28. Which days of the week do prostitutes usually work?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sunday | <input type="checkbox"/> Thursday |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Monday | <input type="checkbox"/> Friday |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tuesday | <input type="checkbox"/> Saturday |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wednesday | |

29. Which days of the week are the busiest?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sunday | <input type="checkbox"/> Thursday |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Monday | <input type="checkbox"/> Friday |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tuesday | <input type="checkbox"/> Saturday |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wednesday | |

30. Do individual prostitutes work in only one location on the street?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes | <input type="checkbox"/> no |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

Expand if appropriate—i.e., why do they not move, or if they do move, what factors determine when and where?

31. What factors determine where prostitution is most likely to occur?

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Police control |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pimps |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Environment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clients |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify _____) |
| _____) |

32. What types of services do prostitutes provide for their clients?

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual intercourse |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Oral sex/blow jobs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anal sex |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bondage |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hand jobs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify _____) |
| _____) |

33. What are the approximate costs of these services?

	On street	From escorts
Sexual intercourse	_____	_____
Oral sex/blow jobs	_____	_____
Anal sex	_____	_____
Bondage	_____	_____
Hand jobs	_____	_____
Other (specify)	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

34. How are prices determine on the street?

- ☐ negotiated between prostitute and client
☐ set by prostitutes on street
☐ set by pimps in control of prostitutes
☐ other (specify _____

35. How are prices determined by escorts?

- ☐ negotiated between escort and client
☐ set by individuals who work as escorts
☐ set by agency
☐ other (specify _____

36. On the street, what proportion of a prostitute's earnings would be paid to a pimp?

37. What proportion of an escort's earnings are paid to the agency?

38. To your knowledge, do prostitutes working on the street pay income tax?

☐ yes

☐ no

39. To your knowledge, do escorts pay income tax?

☐ yes

☐ no

40. To your knowledge, are prostitutes involved in the production of pornographic materials? (Are they aware of involvement?)

☐ photographs

☐ films

☐ videos

☐ other (specify _____)
_____)

☐ no

☐ don't know

41. Are pimps involved in the production of pornographic materials?

☐ photographs

☐ films

☐ videos

☐ other (specify _____)

☐ no

☐ don't know

42. Are clients involved in the production of pornographic materials?
(Are they aware of involvement?)

☐ photographs

☐ films

☐ videos

☐ other (specify _____

☐ no

☐ don't know

43. To your knowledge, are prostitutes involved in the distribution of
pornographic material? (How?)

44. Are pimps involved in the distribution of pornographic material?
(How?)

45. Are clients involved in the distribution of pornographic material?
(How?)

46. To your knowledge, do clients have pornographic materials in their
possession when they hire the services of a prostitute? (specify)

47. How is prostitution connected to illegal drug trafficking?

- ☐ prostitutes using
- ☐ prostitutes dealing
- ☐ pimps using
- ☐ pimps dealing
- ☐ clients buying
- ☐ clients dealing
- ☐ not connected

☐ other (specify) _____

48. How is prostitution connected to prescription drug trafficking?

- ☐ prostitutes using
- ☐ pimps dealing
- ☐ pimps obtaining illegally (how?) _____

- ☐ clients dealing
- ☐ clients using
- ☐ not connected

☐ other (specify) _____

49. Would you consider alcohol abuse a problem in relation to prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

How?

- ☐ prostitutes using
- ☐ pimps using
- ☐ clients using
- ☐ other (specify) _____

50. Are prostitutes involved in obtaining stolen property?

☐ yes

☐ no

Specify how? _____

51. Are pimps involved in obtaining stolen property?

☐ yes

☐ no

Specify how? _____

52. Are prostitutes involved in fencing stolen property?

☐ yes

☐ no

Specify how? _____

53. Are pimps involved in fencing stolen property?

☐ yes

☐ no

Specify how? _____

54. Are clients involved in fencing stolen property?

☐ yes

☐ no

Specify how? _____

55. To your knowledge, is prostitution related to any other criminal activities—i.e., fraud, credit cards, cheques, etc.? (Specify and provide details)

56. To your knowledge, is prostitution in this city a facet of organized crime—i.e., prostitutes systematically moved between cities, prostitutes associated with individuals involved in other facets of organized crime, prostitutes used to conduct organized criminal activities, etc. (Specify and provide details)

57. To your knowledge, how is prostitution related to violence on the street?

- ☐ prostitutes abusing clients
- ☐ clients abusing prostitutes
- ☐ pimps abusing prostitutes
- ☐ pimps abusing clients
- ☐ through competition between prostitutes
- ☐ through competition between pimps
- ☐ other (specify) _____

58. What percentage of prostitutes carry a weapon? (kind of weapon?)

_____ % street prostitutes _____

_____ % escorts _____

59. Do prostitutes report the following to police?

	frequency of occurrence	frequency of reporting
physical abuse from client	_____	_____
sexual abuse from client	_____	_____
physical abuse from pimp	_____	_____
sexual abuse from pimp	_____	_____
other (specify)		
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

60. In general, will prostitutes follow through on these charges?
(specify and provide details)

61. Do prostitutes provide the police with information?

☐ yes

☐ no

Under what circumstances would this occur. (Specify providing details if possible)

62. Do policy officers in this city keep any of the following types of records or information?

☐ formalized records on known prostitutes

☐ informal records within department

☐ individual records on prostitutes

Could any of this information be made available to us as researchers (i.e., given our guarantee of anonymity).

63. How does an individual start working as a street prostitute? (Be specific as possible.)

64. How does an individual start working as an escort? (As specifically as possible)

65. How does a street prostitute quit working? _____

66. How does an escort quit working? _____

67. What is the average working life of a prostitute in this city?

68. Could you describe a typical client in relation to:

Race/ethnicity _____

Age _____

Sex _____

Marital status _____

Income bracket _____

Occupation _____

Other _____

69. How do clients contact prostitutes?

Street? _____

Escort? _____

70. Where do prostitutes take their clients?

☐ hotel
☐ motel
☐ car
☐ client's home
☐ prostitute's home
☐ other (specify) _____

71. Are sexually transmitted diseases prevalent amongst:

☐ Juvenile prostitutes (indication as to degree and types) _____

☐ Adult prostitutes: _____

72. Do any of the following make formal complaints to the police regarding prostitution? (Expand if appropriate)

☐ Individual citizens _____

☐ Retail business persons _____

☐ Hotel owners/managers _____

☐ Other (specify) _____

73. How do you deal with these complaints? _____

74. To your knowledge, what percentage of working prostitutes have children (living with them)?

75. Who takes care of these children when they are working?

☐ private babysitters

☐ lovers/mates

☐ working associates

☐ friends

☐ relatives

☐ daycare

☐ other (specify) _____

76. If laws relating to prostitution were made more restrictive (i.e., laws altered so that individuals could be convicted of prostitution, solicitation and related activities) how would this affect:

Levels of violence on the street? _____

Related criminal activities? _____

The occupational world of prostitution? _____

Your job as a police officer? _____

77. Given your knowledge of prostitution, and policing, how would the law have to change to enable you to obtain convictions. (Specify as to different facets of prostitution—i.e., prostitutes, pimps, clients, etc.)

78. If prostitution were decriminalized (i.e., control of these activities using such code provisions as causing a disturbance, loitering and obstructing, trespassing, etc.) how would this affect:

Levels of violence on the street? _____

Related criminal activities? _____

The occupational world of prostitution? _____

Your job as a police officer? _____

79. If prostitution were legalized (i.e., licensed and/or placed under the control of law other than criminal) how would this affect:

Levels of violence on the street? _____

Related criminal activities? _____

The occupational world of prostitution? _____

Your job as a police officer? _____

80. What, if any, legal reforms would you like to see in this area?

Demographic Information

1. How long have you been with this city police force?

2. Have you ever worked in other locations?
☐ yes ☐ no
If yes, where and for how long? _____
3. What is your current rank? _____
4. What department do you currently work in? _____
5. How long have you worked here? _____
6. What other departments have you worked in?
☐ Patrol
☐ Traffic
☐ Detectives
☐ Morality
☐ Criminal Intelligence
☐ Beat patrol
☐ Other (specify) _____

7. Gender: ☐ male, ☐ female
8. Age: _____
9. Marital status:
☐ single
☐ married
☐ divorced
☐ cohabiting
☐ other (specify) _____
10. Do you have children:
☐ yes, how many _____; ☐ no

11. Level of education:

☐ less than grade 8

☐ grade 8-12

☐ some post-secondary (specify) _____

☐ completed post-secondary (specify) _____

12. Ethnic background _____

13. Religious affiliation:

☐ Protestant

☐ Catholic

☐ Jewish

☐ Other (specify) _____

☐ Practicing

COMMUNITY AGENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

(Revised)

1. What is the full name of your agency?

2. Address of agency:

3. What are the services your agency provides to individuals over the age of 18? (Please check all the services that apply to your agency.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> legal | <input type="checkbox"/> child abuse counselling |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recreation | <input type="checkbox"/> general health services |
| <input type="checkbox"/> educational | <input type="checkbox"/> family planning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> probation | <input type="checkbox"/> abortion counselling |
| <input type="checkbox"/> financial aid | <input type="checkbox"/> nutrition/health counselling |
| <input type="checkbox"/> food | <input type="checkbox"/> pre/post mental counselling |
| <input type="checkbox"/> shelter | <input type="checkbox"/> native group services |
| <input type="checkbox"/> referral | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> counselling drug/alcohol abuse | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> mental health counselling | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> rape victim counselling | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> specialized health services (please specify _____) | |
| |) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify _____) | |
| |) |

4. What are the services your agency provides to individuals under the age of 18? (Please check all the services that apply to your agency.)

<input type="checkbox"/> legal	<input type="checkbox"/> child abuse counselling
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation	<input type="checkbox"/> general health services
<input type="checkbox"/> educational	<input type="checkbox"/> family planning
<input type="checkbox"/> probation	<input type="checkbox"/> abortion counselling
<input type="checkbox"/> financial aid	<input type="checkbox"/> nutrition/health counselling
<input type="checkbox"/> food	<input type="checkbox"/> pre/post mental counselling
<input type="checkbox"/> shelter	<input type="checkbox"/> native group services
<input type="checkbox"/> referral	
<input type="checkbox"/> counselling drug/alcohol abuse	
<input type="checkbox"/> mental health counselling	
<input type="checkbox"/> rape victim counselling	
<input type="checkbox"/> specialized health services (please specify _____)	
_____)	
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify _____)	
_____)	

5. What percentage of the services you provide are:

_____ % Residential
 _____ % Drop-in Service
 _____ % By Appointment
 _____ % Outreach
 _____ % Other (please specify _____)

6. What percentage of your organization's clients fit into the following age categories?

_____ % Under 14 years
 _____ % 14 to 17 years
 _____ % 18 to 20 years
 _____ % 21 to 30 years
 _____ % 31 to 40 years
 _____ % 41 to 60 years
 _____ % over 60 years

7. Does your agency charge the client a fee for services or are services paid for in some other way?

☐ Client pays fee.
☐ Fee paid for some other way (please specify _____)
 _____)

8. What percentage of your adult client population appear to have been sexually abused as a child?

_____ percent.

What percentage of your juvenile client population appear to associate with their family?

_____ percent.

9. Does your agency provide direct services to adult prostitutes?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what specific services do you provide to them? _____

10. Does your agency provide direct services to juveniles who are involved in prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what specific services do you provide to them? _____

11. What other services does your organization provide that might be needed at some time by:

(a) adult prostitutes? _____

(b) juveniles involved in prostitution? _____

12. To your knowledge, how many adult prostitutes have requested services from your agency:

_____ within the last month
 _____ within the last 3 months
 _____ within the last 6 months
 _____ within the last year

13. To your knowledge, how many juvenile prostitutes have requested services from your agency:

_____ within the last month
 _____ within the last 3 months
 _____ within the last 6 months
 _____ within the last year

14. How would you describe the "typical" adult prostitute who requests services from your agency (check the appropriate categories):

(a) Sex: ☐ male
☐ female

(b) Age: ☐ 18 to 20 years
☐ 21 to 25 years
☐ over 25 years

(c) Race: ☐ native
☐ non-native

(d) Marital Status: ☐ single
☐ married
☐ divorced
☐ separated
☐ other (specify _____)

(e) Economic Status: ☐ low income
☐ middle income
☐ upper income

(f) Children: ☐ yes
☐ no

(g) Other (please specify _____)

 _____)

15. How would you describe the "typical" juvenile, involved in prostitution who requests services from your agency (check the appropriate categories):

(a) Sex: ☐ male
☐ female

(b) Age: ☐ less than 12 years
☐ 12 to 15 years
☐ 16 to 17 years
☐ 18 years

(c) Race: ☐ native
☐ non-native

(d) Marital Status: ☐ single
☐ married
☐ divorced
☐ separated
☐ other (specify _____)

(e) Economic Status: ☐ low income
☐ middle income
☐ upper income

(f) Children: ☐ yes
☐ no

(g) Other (please specify _____

 _____)

16. On the average how often does the "typical" adult prostitute use the services of your agency?

☐ once per week ☐ once every 6 months
☐ once every 2 to 3 weeks ☐ once a year
☐ once per month
☐ other (please specify _____)

17. On the average, how often does the typical juvenile involved in prostitution use the services of your agency?

☐ once per week ☐ once every 6 months
☐ once every 2 to 3 weeks ☐ once a year
☐ once per month
☐ other (please specify _____)

18. (a) Is substance abuse a major problem among the adult prostitutes your agency assists?

☐ yes

☐ no

Comments: _____

- (b) Is substance abuse a major problem among the juveniles, involved in prostitution that your agency assists?

☐ yes

☐ no

Comments: _____

19. (a) Is violence (physical, emotional or verbal) a major problem among the adult prostitutes your agency assists?

☐ yes

☐ no

Comments: _____

- (b) Is violence (physical, emotional or verbal) a major problem among juveniles involved in prostitution that your agency assists?

☐ yes

☐ no

Comments: _____

20. (a) Is physical illness a major problem among the adult prostitutes your agency assists?

☐ yes

☐ no

Comments: _____

- (b) Is physical illness a major problem among juveniles, involved in prostitution, that your agency assists?

☐ yes

☐ no

Comments: _____

21. (a) Have some or many of the adult prostitutes your organization serves been involved at some time in the production of sexually explicit films or magazines?

☐ some

☐ none

☐ many

☐ don't know

- (b) Have you encountered juveniles who have been involved in the production of sexually explicit films or magazines?

☐ some

☐ none

☐ many

☐ don't know

22. (a) What services do adult prostitutes request from your agency?
(Please specify)

- (b) What services do juveniles, involved in prostitution, request from your agency (please specify)?

23. If your agency does not include services to the following types of clients, to whom would you refer them? PLEASE ANSWER FOR EACH TYPE OF CLIENT THAT YOUR ORGANIZATION DOES NOT SERVE.

Type of Client

I would refer them to:

Juveniles who have been or are procured for sexual purposes:

Juveniles who have drug or alcohol related problems:

Juveniles who have nowhere to stay:

Juveniles who have been or are sexually abused:

Adult prostitutes who have a drug or alcohol problem:

Adult prostitutes who have been raped:

24. What problems, if any, are associated with serving:

(a) Adult prostitutes: _____

(b) Juveniles involved in prostitution: _____

25. What services, if any, do you think should be provided for adult prostitutes that are currently not offered in Saskatoon either in your agency, or in some other agency?

26. What services, if any, do you think should be provided for juveniles, involved in prostitution, that are currently not offered in Saskatoon—either in your agency or in some other agency?

27. Has your agency seen any change in the number of adult prostitutes, or juveniles involved in prostitution, using your services over the past few years? CHECK APPLICABLE NUMBER(S) FOR ADULTS AND FOR JUVENILES..

☐ no change in number of adults
☐ increase in number of adults
☐ decrease in number of adults

☐ no change in number of juveniles
☐ increase in number of juveniles
☐ decrease in number of juveniles

28. If you do feel there was a change, what do you feel are the primary reasons for this change?

29. Are there changes your agency would like to see made to our existing laws dealing with adult prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what change(s) would your agency support?

☐ legalization

☐ decriminalization

☐ stricter criminal law

Why would your agency support this change? _____

30. Are there changes your agency would like to see made to our existing laws dealing with juveniles involved in prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what change(s) would your agency support?

☐ legalization

☐ decriminalization

☐ stricter criminal law

31. Are there other approaches (i.e., non-legal) you feel could or should be used to deal with adult prostitution?

32. Are there other approaches (i.e., non-legal) you feel could or should be used to deal with juveniles involved in prostitution?

33. If you feel strongly about some of the issues we have addressed in the questionnaire but did not have the opportunity to convey your feelings, please elaborate below:

34. Are there other agencies you might suggest we contact for this study?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, please specify: _____

CUSTOMER_QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Are you currently purchasing sexual services?

☐ yes

☐ no

2. If no, have you purchased sexual services in the past?

☐ yes, when? _____

☐ no

3. What terms (words) do you use when referring to a person you purchase sexual favours from?

4. What terms (words) do you use to describe yourself as a user of sexual services?

5. Where do you purchase sexual services?

☐ street

☐ hotel/bar

☐ telephone/escort

☐ massage parlour

☐ other (specify) _____

Which of the above do you use most frequently? _____

6. What areas of the city are known for prostitution? _____

7. What type of neighbourhood do you usually go to when you wish to purchase a sexual service?

```
[ ] business/commercial type:  [ ] retail stores
                                [ ] hotels
                                [ ] offices
                                [ ] restaurants
```

```
[ ] residential
```

8. Are local residents of this area aware of why you are there?

```
[ ] yes
[ ] no
[ ] don't know
```

9. In general, how do the local residents of this area react to your being there?

[[negative, specify how _____

[] positive, specify how _____

10. Do you look for sexual services in areas that are not associated with the purchase of a sexual service?

☐ yes ☐ no

Why or why not? _____

11. General the typical person you purchase a sexual service from is:

Sex: ☐ male
☐ female

Age: ☐ under 16
☐ 16 to 25
☐ over 25

Race: ☐ native
☐ non-native
☐ other (specify) _____

Marital Status: ☐ married
☐ single
☐ separated
☐ divorced
☐ living with someone
☐ don't know

Income: ☐ low income
☐ middle income
☐ high income

Children: ☐ yes
☐ no

Other (specify) _____

12. How old were you when you began purchasing sexual services?

13. How long have you been purchasing sexual services?

☐ under 1 year
☐ 1 to 2 years
☐ 2 to 5 years
☐ more than 5 years (specify _____)

14. How often do you purchase sexual services?

☐ more than once a week (specify _____)
☐ once a week
☐ once every 2 weeks
☐ once a month
☐ less than once a month (specify _____)

15. Generally what time of day do you purchase a sexual service?

- ☐ before 12 p.m.
- ☐ 12 p.m. to 3 p.m.
- ☐ 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.
- ☐ 6 p.m. to 9 p.m.
- ☐ 9 p.m. to 12 a.m.
- ☐ after 12 a.m. (specify _____)

16. What day(s) of the week do you usually purchase a sexual service?

- ☐ Monday to Thursday
- ☐ Friday or Saturday
- ☐ Sunday

17. Generally, how long a time frame do you purchase a sexual service for?

- ☐ less than 15 minutes
- ☐ 15 minutes
- ☐ half an hour
- ☐ one hour
- ☐ more than one hour (specify _____)

18. What sexual services do you purchase specifically?

19. What fee is charged for the service? _____

20. Do you contact the person you are purchasing a sexual service from:

- ☐ in person
- ☐ by telephone
- ☐ through a third person (specify _____)

21. What words or phrases do you use when trying to purchase a sexual service?

22. What words or phrases do the persons providing the sexual service use when approaching you?

23. Have you ever refused someone who is soliciting a sexual service?

☐ yes

☐ no

24. Have you ever been refused as a potential customer?

☐ yes

☐ no

25. Have you ever purchased a sexual service at

☐ a convention

☐ a stag

☐ a work camp

26. Do you use drugs or alcohol prior to or during the transaction?

☐ yes

☐ no

27. Do the persons you purchase a sexual service from generally use alcohol or drugs?

☐ yes

☐ no

28. Do you go to the same person for a sexual service regularly?

☐ yes

☐ no

29. Do you request specialized sexual services?

☐ yes (specify _____)

☐ no

30. Do you refer to or bring along pornographic material during the transaction?

☐ yes (specify _____)

☐ no

31. Where does the transaction between yourself and the person involved in the sexual service take place?

- ☐ hotel
- ☐ motel
- ☐ your home
- ☐ prostitute's home
- ☐ other person's home (specify _____)
- ☐ public building (specify _____)
- ☐ outside (specify _____)
- ☐ car
- ☐ other (specify _____)

32. Do you negotiate a fee for the service?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

33. Who sets the fee?

- ☐ prostitute
- ☐ pimp
- ☐ agency
- ☐ customer
- ☐ other (specify _____)

34. Do you ever pay for services in other ways besides cash?

- ☐ yes (specify _____)
- ☐ no

35. Are sexually transmitted diseases a problem you are concerned with?

- ☐ yes (which ones _____)
- ☐ no

36. Have you ever been infected with a sexually transmitted disease?

- ☐ yes (specify disease _____)
- ☐ no

37. Do the police affect your purchase of sexual services? If so, how?

38. In relation to the purchase of sexual services, have you ever been:
picked up (describe circumstances) _____

arrested: ☐ yes, did you contact someone? ☐ yes ☐ no
☐ no

charged: ☐ yes: Did you go to court? ☐ yes ☐ no
Were you convicted? ☐ yes ☐ no

What sentence did you receive? ☐ discharge
☐ probation
☐ fine
☐ jail

Did anyone go to court with you? ☐ yes
☐ no

Who? _____

☐ no

39. Do you use any form of birth control when purchasing a sexual service?

☐ yes (specify _____)
☐ no

40. What do you know about the law covering the following areas:

Solicitation _____

Living off the avails _____

Bawdy house _____

Being a found-in _____

41. Would you advocate a change in the law regarding prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what changes would you support?

☐ criminalization

☐ decriminalization

☐ legalization

42. How would criminalization (stricter laws) governing prostitution affect you in the purchasing of sexual services?

Decriminalization _____

Legalization _____

43. Given the purpose of this research what do you want to tell this committee about prostitution?

44. What need to be done about juveniles who are involved in the sale of sexual services?

Demographic Information

1. Age _____

2. Religion: ☐ none
☐ Protestant
☐ Catholic
☐ Jewish
☐ Other (specify _____)

3. Level of education (last completed year)

- ☐ less than grade 8
☐ grade 8-12
☐ some post secondary
☐ completed post secondary

4. Marital status: ☐ single
☐ married
☐ separated
☐ divorced
☐ widowed
☐ living with someone

5. Do you have children?
☐ yes (how many? _____)
☐ no
6. Are you currently employed: ☐ yes
☐ no
7. Which category best describes your employment?
☐ labourer
☐ business sector
☐ professional
☐ service sector
☐ other (specify _____)
8. What is your ethnic background? _____
9. Number of siblings: ☐ brothers (how many? _____)
☐ sisters (how many? _____)
☐ none
10. Do you ☐ own, ☐ rent, your own dwelling?
11. Where have you lived most of your life?
Rural Area: ☐ yes (specify _____)
☐ no
Urban Area: ☐ yes (specify _____)
☐ no
12. How long have you lived in this city? _____

BUSINESS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is the full name of your business?

2. Your name and full title?

3. Address of your business?

4. Is your business located in an area of the city where street prostitution occurs?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, please answer all the remaining questions.

If no, please proceed to Question 16.

5. To your knowledge, how many years has street prostitution existed in your business area?

☐ less than one year

☐ 1 to 3 years

☐ 3 to 5 years

☐ 5 to 10 years

☐ more than 10 years

6. (a) Approximately how many adult prostitutes work the street in your area between 9:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m.? _____

(b) Approximately how many juvenile prostitutes work the streets in your area between 9:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m.? _____

7. (a) Approximately how many adult prostitutes work the streets in your area after 6:00 p.m.? _____
- (b) Approximately how many juvenile prostitutes work the streets in your area after 6:00 p.m.? _____
8. Have you seen any change in the number of adult or juvenile prostitutes in your area over the past year?
- ☐ no change in number of adults
☐ increase in number of adults
☐ decrease in number of adults
- ☐ no change in number of juveniles
☐ increase in number of juveniles
☐ decrease in number of juveniles
9. If you have seen a change in numbers, what do you feel are the primary reasons for this change?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
10. (a) How would you describe the "typical" adult prostitute in your area?
- Sex: ☐ male
☐ female
- Age: ☐ 18 to 20 years
☐ 21 to 25 years
☐ over 25 years
- Race: ☐ non-native
☐ native
- Dress: ☐ blue jeans
☐ stylish outfits
☐ other (state) _____
- _____

(b) How would you describe the "typical" juvenile prostitute in your area?

Sex: ☐ male
☐ female

Age: ☐ 10 to 12 years old
☐ 13 to 15 years old
☐ 16 to 18 years old

Race: ☐ non-native
☐ native

Dress: ☐ blue jeans
☐ stylish outfits
☐ other (state) _____

11. To your knowledge, are there male prostitutes in your business area?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, how many? _____

12. Do prostitutes work in your business street?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, how have you reacted to this? (check the appropriate categories)

☐ ignored it
☐ accepted it as part of the business area
☐ made individual attempts to move the street activity away from your place of business
☐ used official agencies (such as the police) to deal with the matter
☐ other (please explain) _____

13. (a) Do you find the same group of adult prostitutes working in your business area?

☐ yes

☐ no

- (b) Do you find the same group of juvenile prostitutes working in your business area?

☐ yes

☐ no

14. Do street prostitutes ever use your place of business?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, how often?

☐ daily

☐ regularly (2 or 3 times/week)

☐ occasionally (once or twice a month)

☐ rarely

☐ never

For what purposes? (check appropriate categories)

☐ to shop

☐ for coffee and/or meals

☐ to loiter

☐ to solicit customers

☐ other (please state) _____

15. (a) Has street prostitution created problems for your business?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what type(s) of problems? (check appropriate categories)

☐ decrease in business

☐ damage to property

☐ increased insurance rates

☐ parking problems

☐ increased crime

☐ changes to the physical appearance of your business

☐ other(s) (please state) _____

(b) If street prostitution was removed from your business area, would the problems you've identified above be solved?

☐ yes

☐ no (please explain)

16. (a) Does your business benefit at all from street prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, how?

☐ increased business

☐ lower rents

☐ increased police protection

☐ other(s), please state: _____

(b) If street prostitution was removed from your business area, how would it affect the benefits you've identified above?

17. As a business person, would you like to see changes made to our existing laws dealing with adult prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what change(s) would you support?

☐ legalization

☐ decriminalization

☐ stricter laws

Why would you support this change? _____

18. Are there other approaches (non-legal) that you feel could or should be used to deal with adult prostitution?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, what approaches would you support? _____

19. What action would you recommend that legislators take in the case of juveniles who are procured for sexual purposes?

20. Why would you recommend that course of action?

21. Are there other approaches (non-legal) that you feel could or should be used to deal with juveniles being procured for sexual purposes?

22. If you feel strongly about some of the issues we have addressed in the questionnaire but did not have the opportunity to describe your feelings fully, please elaborate below:

23. Are there other business people you might suggest we contact for this study?

☐ yes

☐ no

If yes, who? _____

24. Would you be willing to meet with us, within the next few weeks, to discuss in more depth the questions we have asked you in this questionnaire?

☐ yes

☐ no



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WORKING PAPERS ON PORNOGRAPHY AND PROSTITUTION

Report # 10

A REPORT ON PROSTITUTION IN ONTARIO

by
J. Fleischman

POLICY, PROGRAMS
AND RESEARCH BRANCH
RESEARCH AND
STATISTICS SECTION

Canada

PROSTITUTION IN ONTARIO: AN OVERVIEW

presented by

John Fleischman

Toronto, Ontario

30 June 1984

The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views or policies of the Department of Justice of Canada.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report describes the findings of a field study on prostitution done during a five month period in ten cities throughout Ontario.

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INTRODUCTION

This report is part of a Canada wide survey on prostitution commissioned by the Federal Department of Justice that began in January and was completed in June of 1984. The survey was to increase our knowledge prostitution as it exists. Current debates on prostitution arose in part out of private citizens concern about the increasing visibility of prostitutes in public places. More recently, the places being encroached upon are private residential areas. As a result many Canadians are concerned about the effects prostitution might have on their communities. Several interest groups are seeking changes in legislation in the hope of curtailing the activities of prostitutes.

The purpose of this study, then, is to become more familiar with the phenomenon of prostitution in Canada. This survey will examine prostitution as it occurs in Ontario, and will include the practice of prostitution as a business and the methods of social control utilized in particular areas in Ontario. Four similar projects have been undertaken concomitantly in Vancouver, the Prairie region, Quebec and the Maritimes.

In reading this report, it is necessary at the outset to comment on its limitations. Singularly, the most important limiting condition in performing the research was the time constraint. From its inception to completion the report was carried out in five months. The second area that proved problematic was one of geography. The cities examined were separated by considerable distances permitting only limited amounts of time in certain locations and greater proportions of time in other areas. The third and final limitation that requires some attention centres on the nature of the people being researched. The paucity of recorded information about prostitutes is likely a product of their marginal status. This situation arises essentially because Canadian laws on prostitution are vague. Being a prostitute is not an offense in Canada but some of the attendant activities make prostitution an illegal method of earning a living. For this reason, prostitutes are reluctant to come forward; hence research into their lifestyle is scarce.

The report is organized into three major sections. In the first, the methodology used to obtain and compile the information is described in detail. The other two sections deal respectively with prostitution as a business and with the social control of prostitution. Whenever appropriate, tables have been inserted within the text. For easier reading however, and because the data should not be looked at primarily from a statistical viewpoint, most tables have been inserted in an appendix.

METHODOLOGY

Format

The initial stage of our research began with an overview of the study to be undertaken. A meeting of the research group was held in Ottawa with representatives from the Department of Justice (and other government departments). Research questions proposed by the Department of Justice were reviewed and certain areas were targeted. These included:

- 1) Types and incidence of prostitution (by region);
- 2) characteristics of prostitute;
- 3) special problems associated with prostitution: e.g., crime, venereal disease and drug use;
- 4) overt dangers encountered by prostitutes in their work, including harassment;
- 5) pimping practices; and
- 6) characteristics of customer.

Since little is known about the economics of prostitution, despite the fact that there is much speculation about it, the following areas were also to be examined:

- 1) wage scales of prostitutes;
- 2) expenses and budgeting practices of prostitutes; and
- 3) wage scales of pimps.

In light of the media attention given to prostitution and the many complaints being voiced by citizens and citizen groups about these individuals, we chose to look at the impact of prostitution on affected neighbourhoods and the impact of prostitution on other businesses.

A further area for investigation was the current social control mechanisms used to restrict prostitution. This included:

- 1) law enforcement practices: formal enforcement of Criminal Code provisions and informal controls;
- 2) enactment and enforcement of municipal by-laws: existent legislation and its impact on prostitution;
- 3) effect of public pressure on police;

- 4) concerns of police: interpretation and limitations of the law; and
- 5) unintended consequences of enforcement and the concerns of social agencies.

Strategies were developed for contacting and interviewing three groups of actors in the prostitution scenario: the prostitutes, pimps and customers. Street prostitutes in cities like Vancouver and Toronto are visible and accessible. Less visible prostitutes, customers and pimps are more difficult to identify, and therefore easier to include in a study of this kind. It was suggested that customers might respond to anonymous questionnaires from newspaper ads, or that prostitutes could request their clients to complete questionnaires. It was thought that pimps, who are notoriously elusive, might be contacted through correctional facilities or street agencies.

Geography

Ontario was divided into four major regions: Northern, Eastern, South Western and South Central Ontario. From these areas eight larger cities, which differ in industry, culture and ethnicity, were selected. Initially, two cities were chosen from each region:

Northern Ontario	Timmins and Sudbury
Eastern Ontario	Ottawa and Cornwall
South Western Ontario	Windsor and London
South Central Ontario	Toronto and Hamilton

In the course of speaking to various participants in the world of prostitution, it became apparent that we had overlooked the city of Niagara Falls, an area with relatively high levels of prostitution activity. This city was added to the South Central Ontario region.

A letter of introduction was written by the Department of Justice and mailed to the Chief of Police in each selected city. The letter outlined the intent of our research project and requested their assistance in providing information about prostitution. A researcher assigned to this area then made a follow-up telephone call to the Police Department. From this point a form of networking developed. The police were often instrumental in supplying names of social service agencies who had contact with prostitutes.

Agencies including the Elizabeth Fry Society, the John Howard Society, Children's Aid, youth hostels and shelters, and hospital clinics were contacted by telephone.

If warranted, interviews were arranged with the workers and where a particular agency could be of no assistance, they often made referrals to agencies who could help. As time permitted interviews were held with other facilitators and concerned citizens including lawyers, members of women's groups, taxi drivers, bar tenders and media people.

Time constraints precluded visiting two cities, Timmins and Cornwall. Instead, we inquired about prostitution through their respective police departments. The discussion on the nature and occurrence of prostitution in these two cities is based only on police information.

From conversations held with police and various prostitutes, it was found that other communities in Northern Ontario such as North Bay, Elliot Lake and Sault Ste. Marie have a sizeable prostitute population who allegedly service transient mine workers. However, rural areas in the four main regions have not been investigated due to time constraints, even though it is thought that some prostitution exists.

Problems

A social study of prostitutes and prostitution also presents methodological problems to the researcher and perhaps to those who may evaluate the study. One of the foremost problem is in selecting a sample. Our sample was not randomly selected. Many prostitutes were referred to us by other contacts or friends of prostitutes. Several names were provided by police departments and social service agencies. A total of fifty-nine interviews of prostitutes were made and of these, forty-three were from Toronto. This can be explained by the fact that Toronto was the research headquarters for the study. As well, it is the city with the largest prostitute population.

Throughout our report we have used a combination of raw figures and percentages to make clear or highlight particular points. However, it is necessary to state that we felt limited in the use of these estimates because our sample was small. As a result it is not possible, based on the sample, to make generalizations about prostitution.

Sample

Prostitute Type	Male	Female	Total	City
Escort Service	1	11 1	13	Toronto Ottawa
Street Prostitutes		20 4 2 1	27	Toronto Ottawa Niagara Falls Hamilton
Male Prostitutes (all over 16)	11	7 2 2	11	Toronto London Ottawa
Others			8	
Massage Parlour Attendants		3		Brampton
Hotel Prostitutes		2 1		Hamilton Ottawa
Stripper		1		
Juvenile Prostitute		1		London
Total			59	

Information about our sample presented in the following tables and some of the data will be referred to the proceeding discussion.

Table 1

Age of Prostitute				
Age	16	16-21	22-30	30
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	6 54.5%	0 0.0%
Escort	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	6 46.2%	7 53.8%
Street	1 3.7%	15 55.6%	10 37.0%	1 3.7%
Other	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%	2 25.0%
Total	2 3.4%	21 35.6%	26 44.1%	10 16.9%

Table 2

Education years of school	8th grade or less	9 or 10	11 or 12	Some post-secondary
Male	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	5 45.5%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.8%	2 15.4%	2 15.4%	8 61.5%
Street	3 11.1%	13 48.1%	8 29.6%	3 11.1%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%	0 0.0%
Total	6 10.2%	21 35.6%	19 32.2%	12 20.3%

Table 3

Other Jobs	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	10 90.9%	1 9.1%
Escort	0 0.0%	13 100%	0 0.0%
Street	0 0.0%	21 77.8%	6 22.2%
Other	0 0.0%	6 75.0%	2 25.0%
Total	0 0.0%	50 84.7%	9 15.3%

n/a= no answer

Table 4

Where do you come from	n/a	Same city as interview	Different city than interview
Male	0 0.0%	3 27.3%	8 72.7%
Escort	1 7.7%	4 30.8%	8 61.5%
Street	0 0.0%	11 40.7%	16 59.3%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	1 1.7%	20 33.9%	38 64.4%

n/a= no answer

Table 5

Where is your family from	n/a	Same city as interview	Different city than interview
Male	0 0.07%	2 18.2%	9 81.8%
Escort	1 7.7%	6 46.2%	6 46.2%
Street	1 3.7%	10 37.0%	16 59.3%
Other	0 0.0%	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
Total	2 3.4%	21 35.6%	36 61.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 6

Family income	Unknown	Blue collar	White collar	Unemployed
Male	2 18.2%	4 36.4%	3 27.3%	2 18.2%
Escort	3 23.1%	4 30.8%	5 38.5%	1 7.7%
Street	7 25.9%	13 48.1%	5 18.5%	2 7.4%
Other	4 50.0%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%
Total	16 27.1%	24 40.7%	14 23.7%	5 8.5%

Table 7

How introduced to prostitution	n/a	Friends	Client Solicitation	Other Means
Male	2 18.2%	7 63.6%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%
Escort	2 15.4%	7 53.8%	2 15.4%	2 15.4%
Street	2 7.4%	18 66.7%	7 25.9%	0 0.0%
Other	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%
Total	7 11.9%	35 59.3%	12 20.3%	5 8.5%

n/a= no answer

Table 8

Why did you become a prostitute	Only source of income	Additional Income	Drugs	Thrill	To be your own boss
Male	8 72.7%	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	1 9.1%	1 9.1%
Escort	2 15.4%	6 46.2%	2 15.4%	3 23.1%	0 0.0%
Street	15 55.6%	5 18.5%	1 3.7%	5 18.5%	1 3.7%
Other	3 37.5%	3 37.5%	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Total	28 47.5%	15 25.4%	8 13.6%	9 15.3%	2 3.4%

Table 9

Do you like your work	Yes	No
Male	7 63.6%	4 36.4%
Escort	10 76.9%	3 23.1%
Street	12 46.2%	14 53.8%
Other	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
Total	32 55.2%	26 44.8%

Table 10

Do you do it by choice	Yes	No
Male	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	13 100%	0 0.0%
Street	22 84.6%	4 15.4%
Other	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	47 81.0%	11 19.0%

Technique Used for Sample Selection

Toronto has three main areas of visible street prostitution. The first is the downtown core of the city, including Yonge Street, and is known as Track I; the second encompasses Queen Street in Parkdale; and the third, frequented by male prostitutes, is known as Track II. Track I has recently received considerable publicity from the media and, on that basis, we decided to focus the majority of our attention on Track II.

At the outset, several evenings were spent drinking coffee in the local donut shops and walking the streets. Business for the street prostitutes was slow, as a considerable portion of this study was carried out on cold nights in January and February. For the most part, the women spent their time indoors, chatting and complaining among themselves. After a while we were able to introduce ourselves to the women and tell them about our proposed research.

Following our initial conversations and interviews with the women, word that we were "O.K." circulated among many of the prostitutes. We were seen as being genuinely interested in their lifestyle and attentive to their opinions. Consequently, our visits to some of the streets were welcomed by the women, making the interviews easier to conduct.

In order to more fully round the sample, we believed that some attempt should be made to contact prostitutes working in Track I. However, Yonge Street proved the most difficult area to get interviews. The preoccupation of the women with their business and the noisy and congested nature of the street prevented any success in this area. As well, pimps were very visible along Yonge Street and proved to be an obstacle in our contact attempts.

The Gerrard and Jarvis Street sections of Track I provided us with a number of prostitutes to interview. This area is located near a major social service

agency, "Under 21," which provides shelter to street people. Essentially, the interviewer introduced himself to the women and carried out discussions on the street. In contrast to those on Yonge Street the women were more comfortable being approached and at ease discussing their lives. This may be due, in part, to the low visibility or absence of pimps along the streets.

Niagara Falls and Ottawa also possess a relatively visible population of street prostitutes. Again, the technique of approaching women in their work environment was used. Unfortunately, time was limited to four or five days in each of these cities and we met with some resistance, if distrust, from the prostitutes.

Social Service agencies proved instrumental in providing us with interview candidates. (A list of all the agencies contacted is appended.) The key factor operating in these referrals appeared to be the relationship that had developed between the agency staff worker and prostitute client. To our knowledge, coercion in any form was not used by the agency to prompt the interview.

Call girls working in the escort service were introduced to us by an ex-prostitute. The call girls we spoke to appeared to form an organized clique who cooperated in running their businesses. Several were helpful in making referrals to other women. However, many were not interested in the study and did not wish to partake in it.

Male prostitutes were interviewed in a variety of ways. The initial contacts were made by referral from a spokesperson for the Toronto Gay Community. In addition, we were able to meet some male prostitutes in their working environment at gay bars. Here, the men appeared comfortable with the researchers and were open in their discussions with them. As with some female street prostitutes, many males working the street were not willing to speak with us. In London and Ottawa we were introduced to male prostitutes by social service agencies.

The fourth group of prostitutes listed as "others", emerged as a composite of strays. Five of this group were recruited by the police, two were referred to us by social service agencies and one was an acquaintance of the researcher. This group reflects our inability to gain access to certain types of prostitutes. It is believed, by police and others, that strippers, frequently turn tricks after their shows. This sentiment could not be confirmed as strippers would not talk to us. The pursuit of hotel prostitutes was equally unsuccessful as was our attempt to pursue masseuses who advertise in newspapers and are often thought to be prostitutes.

Pimps were impossible to unearth. The prostitutes would frequently describe what we believed to be a pimp but they would almost never admit to having one. If they were involved with a pimp they were adamant in refusing to contact them for interviews on our behalf. Social service agencies who had access to pimps clearly indicated that this group would not meet us. Police had limited association with them and could not offer assistance. Unfortunately, time did not permit investigation of correctional institutions that may have been housing pimps. Although pimps are discussed in our report, this is done through the eyes of other participants in the world of prostitution.

Customers proved almost as elusive as pimps. We never did develop an organized strategy to interview them. Endeavors were made to have prostitutes request their regular customers to complete questionnaires anonymously. This appeal was made to fifteen women. Only three clients responded. Efforts to have men, who enter three strip parlors in Toronto, anonymously answer questionnaires and return them in self-addressed stamped envelopes were fruitless. The questionnaires were not returned.

Research Instrument

The research was conducted using interviews and structured questionnaires. The methods of interviewing tended to be informal based on the researcher's knowledge of the "street scene." This knowledge was developed from experience gained as a youth worker and probation officer.

A structured questionnaire was designed for the prostitutes, clients and pimps in an attempt to standardize certain portions of information. These questionnaires are appended and labelled respectively Appendix A, B and C.

The questionnaire designed for the prostitutes was based directly on the target areas identified by the research team. Accordingly, the areas represented personal history, economics of prostitution, prostitution as a business, prostitution and crime, harms to prostitutes and customers of prostitutes.

In some circumstances the questionnaire could not be rigidly adhered to because of the prostitutes' mistrust of authority. Researchers were apprised of this and encouraged to use small notebooks to record their discussions. The questionnaires administered to the prostitutes were completed in all cases, except one, by the researchers. One questionnaire was completed by a prostitute on her own. A sample of the questionnaire developed for prostitutes, i.e. included as Appendix A will be noted in the appendices, referenced Appendix A.

A second structured questionnaire was developed for completion by the staff of Social Service Agencies. This questionnaire was designed to reflect the target areas of the study together with agency perceptions of prostitution. In all cases, the questionnaire was administered by the researchers. This questionnaire is included as Appendix D and the agency list as Appendix E.

A topic sheet, listing eighteen areas of inquiry, was used as a guideline for discussions held with police departments. This supporting document is cited as Appendix F.

Again informal inquiry and discussion was the method selected for gathering information from concerned citizens and other facilitators such as bartenders, taxi-drivers, and from lawyers and media people.

Administration of Research Instrument

A pretest of the prostitute's questionnaire was conducted with six prostitutes from Toronto. Administration of the pre-test questionnaire revealed three major problem areas. The first issue addressed the fact that most women did not keep a financial record and could not answer questions about their weekly or yearly incomes. It was decided then to ask, instead, what the cost of their various services, or hourly rates, were in order to approximate their earnings. These services were not formally categorized by the research team as some prostitutes specialized in areas that others did not. The second issue centered on the prostitutes' use of drugs. The women questioned frequently admitted to alcohol consumption but disclaimed using drugs. Alcohol was then included in drugs to explain use of intoxicants. In the third instance, it was found that the women had difficulties differentiating the concepts of upper, middle and lower class for their clients. For this reason the terms blue-collar and white collar were used. Sometimes inferences had to be made from the descriptive information given by those interviewed.

The questionnaires were administered and completed by the principal investigator and two part-time researchers with graduate degrees in the social sciences. In Ottawa and London, key social service agency personnel close to the prostitute scene offered to do some interviews and complete the questionnaires. In these instances time was spent training the agency personnel in interviewing techniques and providing in-depth guidelines. Emphasis was placed on obtaining information about sensitive areas including family background, pimps and service fees.

The study of prostitutes presented several challenges to the researcher, in relation to the setting in which the investigation was completed. The questionnaires and interviews were conducted in a variety of settings, not all considered ideal. These locations included the researchers' home, prostitutes' homes, police cruisers, donut shops and restaurants, street corners and social agency offices. For the most part, the majority of encounters occurred in settings where little privacy could be secured.

A significant factor to be understood is that the bulk of women involved in escort services (call-girls) were interviewed in their own homes. As such they were alone with the interviewer, in familiar, comfortable surroundings and were able to relax. These women were unhurried and willing to spend several hours talking. In contrast, street prostitutes were frequently interviewed in their working milieu during business periods. In itself this was a distraction. Often the women would only consent to talk with us in groups of two. It was apparent that they felt better protected and perhaps less visible. These interviews were often conducted hurriedly amidst the background of street noise. In our impression female prostitutes were more comfortable with the female researchers.

ETHICS

In any research that involves human subjects it is important to address ethical issues that are applicable. All of the prostitutes were promised anonymity and that has been honored. Pseudonyms are used in all cases. The men and women wanted to know the nature and purpose of the research and all were given detailed explanations. The essence of the explanation was that this study was commissioned by the Federal Department of Justice to obtain information about prostitutes, their lives and difficulties and the social control of prostitution. They were told that this was part of a larger project being carried out across Canada. Most of the street prostitutes, and all the escort-call girls, wanted some medium to express their concerns to legislators and politicians. The women were assured that their responses would be collectively compiled and forwarded to the Department of Justice in Ottawa.

PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS

FEMALE STREET PROSTITUTION

Personal History

A most logical question one can ask a female prostitute is why she chose to work in the street and why particular streets are chosen. To answer these questions we can examine certain factors about street prostitution including its high visibility, the excitement and intrigue found on the street, the expediency of the money earned through services provided, and the opportunity to make friends. For many women the street provides a place to escape.

We met several girls in Toronto who, although not juvenile runaways clearly stated that they had left difficult home situations to which they did not want to return. Agency interviews and our questionnaire results have suggested that 50% of street prostitutes come from areas other than their place of work. Often their families are unaware of their whereabouts or activities.

In examining certain features of the family background of street prostitutes we found that approximately one-third had been kicked out of their homes or had spent time in a series of foster homes.

In our inquiry about prostitutes with social agencies, it was often stated that most of the women have been victims of incest. Although not singled out in our questionnaire this information was specifically asked of each woman. However, many prostitutes would not admit to this (only three of twenty-seven did). Our research indicates that street prostitutes come predominantly from working class or blue collar homes. The largest number of street prostitutes had between grade eight to twelve schooling with grade ten being the highest grade completed by most (one third). Many girls described school as a negative experience although approximately fifty percent had taken some additional training. The majority had worked in unskilled jobs at some point in their lives. In view of their education and previous work experience most girls stated that they could not earn as much money in any other way as they could in prostitution.

Initiation to Prostitution

Our research confirms that two-third of the girls who become street prostitutes were introduced to the business by friends. Many girls had been told of the activity and excitement in downtown Toronto and decided that this was the place to experience. According to several street workers a typical initiation would see the newcomer welcomed by other street members. This welcome would be followed by a two week period of 'partying' in which friendship, lodging, alcohol and drugs were provided. The new girls are usually impressed but are then expected to "pay back" by making the crucial decision to work the street. Several agencies described this as a critical point for many street prostitutes who would soon find themselves cornered "in the life". Agency workers spoke of the street culture as

being an important source of comradeship for the girls. Because of the nature of prostitution and street life there is a natural 'we-they' division - an "in" group and an "out" group phenomenon. "We" usually refers to rounders and "they" to straights. This grouping provides many street prostitutes with a sense of belonging. In our questionnaire (see Table 11) most girls stated that their closest friends were other prostitutes and that despite competition the other girls on the street help them. Prostitutes often work in two's and are aware of one another's whereabouts. They will note the license plates of cars in which their friends leave. Many of the girls in downtown Toronto, we were told, live in a variety of accommodations that include hotels, motels, rooming houses and apartments.

Table 11

Are close friends prostitutes	Most	Mixture	Most are not	None	No Friends
Male	7 63.6%	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%
Escort	4 30.8%	3 23.1%	5 38.5%	0 0.0%	1 7.7%
Street	12 44.4%	4 14.8%	6 22.2%	2 7.4%	3 11.1%
Other	2 25.0%	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%
Total	25 42.4%	13 22.0%	13 22.0%	3 5.1%	5 8.5%

Street Prostitution and Sex

In our discussions, it became apparent that street prostitution is acknowledged as being the bottom rung in a hierarchy of types of prostitution. Street prostitution and street prices for sex are much more geared to the working class person. The nature of the sexual exchange is centered around silence and expediency.

Discussions revealed that approximately three-quarters of the sex trade of street prostitution is oral sex. The women prefer this because of the expediency of the act. Girls complain about customers who want to kiss them, because kissing is considered to be their most intimate sexual expression. Sexual encounters on the street are usually fifteen to thirty minutes in duration and take place in hotels, rooming houses and apartments, and cars.

Many street prostitutes expressed dislike for their "tricks" as well as for the sex acts. It was not uncommon to hear statements like "If they could only see my

face when I am doing this", or "I take a scalding bath when I get home." The girls who have regular customers spoke of them in a more positive light.

Women were candid in suggesting that their private lives provided little pleasure and 'boyfriends' were rare. Many agency workers felt that these women required counselling programs geared to problems centered around sexuality. They felt that the only source of enjoyment for the women came from the attention and flattery inherent in being priced.

Harms to Street Prostitutes

A common belief about street prostitution which was borne out by our research was the occurrence of street violence. This must be understood in light of the large number of girls who told us of the physical abuse they remembered from their families, where fathers were depicted as the most physically abusive. Two-thirds of the girls on the street have been harmed by customers. Being "ripped off" or robbed is the most common experience but many are also physically beaten. Certain ethnic groups are seen as less dangerous and are better appreciated as customers. The girls would not speak of beatings administered by pimps but on several occasions we observed girls being shaken by individuals thought to be pimps. Numerous participants described the beatings street prostitutes received from pimps for not meeting their financial quotas or for intruding on someone else's territory.

Many street prostitutes complained of harassment from the police. Certain of the women saw the police as taking advantage of them by requesting information and sexual favours. Nonetheless, most of the women felt some degree of protection from the police.

Table 12

Have police harmed you	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	7 63.6%	4 36.4%
Escort	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	12 92.3%
Street	0 0.0%	10 37.0%	17 63.0%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	0 0.0%	20 33.9%	39 66.1%

n/a= no answer

Table 13

How	n/a	Physical	Threats	Both
Male	4 36.4%	0 0.0%	4 36.4%	3 27.3%
Escort	13 100%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Street	18 66.7%	0 0.0%	6 22.2%	3 11.1%
Other	6 75.0%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%
Total	41 69.5%	0 0.0%	11 18.6%	7 11.9%

n/a= not applicable (escort)

Table 14

Do you get along with police	n/a	Well	Ok	Badly
Male	0 0.0%	2 18.2%	4 36.4%	5 45.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	6 46.2%	6 46.2%	1 7.7%
Street	1 3.7%	7 25.9%	16 59.3%	3 11.1%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	2 25.0%	4 50.0%
Total	1 1.7%	17 28.8%	28 47.5%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 15

Do you give police information	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	0 0.0%	10 90.9%
Escort	0 0.0%	2 15.4%	11 84.6%
Street	1 3.7%	2 7.4%	24 88.9%
Other	0 0.0%	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
Total	2 3.4%	7 11.9%	50 84.7%

n/a= no answer

Table 16

Do police protect you	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	2 15.4%	11 84.6%
Street	3 11.1%	10 37.0%	14 51.9%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	4 6.8%	19 32.2%	36 61.0%

n/a= no answer

One-half of the women we spoke to had had some form of venereal disease. Some stated that they had contacted VD from friends before becoming prostitutes. Almost all the girls stated that they see doctors and have regular medical check-ups. Many girls reported attending street clinics. Most of the women use condoms with clients. They feel that these provide protection against VD as well as enabling them to avoid a certain intimacy.

Table 17

Have you had VD	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	5 45.5%	5 45.5%
Escort	1 7.7%	7 53.8%	5 38.5%
Street	0 0.0%	13 48.1%	14 51.9%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	2 3.4%	27 45.8%	30 50.8%

n/a= no answer

Table 18

Do you have a Doctor	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	1 7.7%	10 76.9%	2 15.4%
Street	0 0.0%	19 70.4%	8 29.6%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	42 71.2%	16 27.1%

n/a= no answer

Table 19

Do you have regular checkups	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	1 7.7%	8 61.5%	4 30.8%
Street	0 0.0%	18 66.7%	9 33.3%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	39 66.1%	19 32.2%

n/a= no answer

To summarize, our sense about the dangers of the street were mixed. It cannot be denied that violence to prostitutes does occur on the street. Yet, the girls often believe that they are more protected in this environment than they would be if indoors. This perception of safety likely comes from their high visibility.

Economics of Street Prostitution

Little is known about the economics of street prostitution. As outlined in other part of this report most women do not keep records of their weekly and yearly earnings. Rather most will earn enough to meet a particular goal, e.g., a quota, bills, or expenses. In addition many are part timers in prostitution.

Street prices in Ontario vary from fifty to ninety dollars for sexual intercourse, from forty to sixty dollars for oral sex, "Half and Half" or other specialties move the price up. These prices are widely negotiable depending on availability of business. In many parts of Toronto and Windsor, a woman on an average summer day, might earn \$200. As the girls tended to boast about earnings, this is only an estimate.

Most women have a fatalistic attitude about their lives and future hoping to win a lottery or to meet a rich person. Almost none of the girls had any savings and lived on a day-to-day basis, yet fifty percent felt that they had no choice but to be a street prostitute. It is possible that many women are not aware of alternatives or could not imagine earning money. Another explanation was that perhaps the stigma of being a prostitute and living on the street and the consequent difficulties of fitting in to "straight" society had some bearing on this.

Among the various types of prostitutes we met and talked to, the street prostitutes were singularly the group who felt unaccepted by mainstream society. When asked "how do people feel about you", most of our sample felt they were not accepted. This translates into twenty-four of the thirty girls.

Street Prostitution, Drugs and Crime

Almost all the prostitutes to whom we spoke used intoxicants. A surprising number (one-third) preferred alcohol to drugs, fifty percent of the women used drugs every day. Some of the girls preferred to work high.

Table 20

Do you use drugs	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	10 90.9%	1 9.1%
Escort	0 0.0%	8 61.5%	5 38.5%
Street	1 3.7%	22 81.5%	4 14.8%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	45 76.3%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 21

How Often	n/a	Everyday	Occasionally	Never
Male	2 0.0%	7 81.8%	2 9.1%	0 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	7 53.8%	3 23.1%
Street	2 7.4%	13 48.1%	11 40.7%	1 3.7%
Other	2 25.0%	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%
Total	5 8.5%	29 49.2%	19 32.2%	6 10.2%

n/a= not applicable

Table 22

Is it easier to work stoned	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	9 81.8%	1 9.1%
Escort	2 15.4%	4 30.8%	7 53.8%
Street	2 7.4%	6 22.2%	19 70.4%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	5 8.5%	24 40.7%	30 50.8%

n/a= no answer

Table 23

Have you ever sold drugs	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	8 72.7%	2 18.2%
Escort	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	10 76.9%
Street	3 11.1%	4 14.8%	20 74.1%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	5 8.5%	18 30.5%	36 61.0%

n/a= no answer

This was especially true among the younger ones. However, several stated that they became paranoid when using drugs. Much has been said of the relationship of prostitution to drugs -the women are often allegedly recruited and controlled in this way. Our respondents did not verify this.

Seventy-five percent of the street prostitutes we spoke to had been arrested at least once. Many had several arrests; 25% of the arrests were prostitution related. It is difficult to comment on these figures except to state offenses relating to activities apart from prostitution charges were a large factor in the girls' lives.

Table 24

Have you been arrested	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	7 63.6%	3 27.3%
Escort	0 0.0%	7 53.8%	6 46.2%
Street	0 0.0%	19 73.1%	7 26.9%
Other	1 12.5%	7 87.5%	0 0.0%
Total	2 3.4%	40 69%	16 27.6%

n/a= no answer

Table 25

Number of times arrested	n/a	1	2-3	3
Male	4 36.4%	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	3 27.3%
Escort	6 46.2%	2 15.4%	4 30.8%	1 7.7%
Street	7 26.9%	9 34.6%	4 15.4%	6 23.1%
Other	1 12.5%	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	2 25.0%
Total	18 31.0%	12 20.7%	16 27.6%	12 20.7%

n/a= not applicable

Table 26

Reason for arrest	n/a	Related to Prostitution	Unrelated Violent	Unrelated Property	Drug/ Alcohol	Mixture
Male	4 36.4%	1 9.1%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	1 9.1%	4 36.4%
Escort	6 46.2%	5 38.5%	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%
Street	7 26.9%	7 26.9%	5 19.2%	3 11.5%	1 3.8%	3 11.5%
Other	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	2 25.0%	1 12.5%
Total	18 31.0%	16 27.6%	5 8.6%	6 10.3%	5 8.6%	8 13.8%

n/a= not applicable

Table 27

Result of arrest	n/a	Charges Dismissed	Fine	Probation	Jail	Changes Outstanding	Acquitted
Male	4	2	3	3	4	0	1
	36.4%	18.2%	27.3%	36.4%	0.0%	9.1%	
Escort	6	4	3	2	2	1	1
	46.2%	30.8%	23.1%	15.4%	15.4%	7.7%	7.7%
Street	7	4	4	8	7	3	0
	26.9%	15.4%	15.4%	30.8%	26.9%	11.5%	0.0%
Other	1	2	5	2	0	1	0
	12.5%	12.5%	62.5%	25.0%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%
Total	18	11	15	15	13	5	2
	31.0%	19.0%	25.9%	25.9%	22.4%	8.6%	3.4%

n/a= not applicable

Patterns of Street Prostitution in Toronto

Toronto presents some interesting patterns in street prostitution. Different groups of women work different areas. Yonge Street is a busy commercial and entertainment area. It has historically been the centre of much of Toronto's sex trade. The street is dotted with shoppers, street vendors, sight seeers and transients. The girls who work in the Yonge-Dundas area appear tough and abrasive with passersby. They are usually lined up against different shops and restaurants and approach the curious with questions like "want a date?" They also spend time clowning and talking with male friends coming in and out of the bars and restaurants. These girls were often quite vocal in sending us off. Social agency personnel in the area explained that Yonge Street is heavily controlled by pimps, and this may account for the women's reluctance to speak with us.

As we moved West from Yonge Street to Jarvis (north of Sherbourne) and north to Gerrard, the area became more relaxed and the women friendlier. In the area of Gerrard and Jarvis there is a major youth hostel, "Under 21." Many of the women work near the residence and use the facility. Staff reported that they would talk to the girls coming in and leaving their stuffs and at times provided coffee in the winter. Our observations were that perhaps inadvertently the agency encouraged the women to work as prostitutes.

The second area of female street prostitution is in Parkdale. The area encompasses Queen Street from Bathurst to Roncesvalles. The relaxed atmosphere in the area allowed us to make many observations about the women. These women were approachable and often explained that they worked here because many found Yonge Street too aggressive as it is regulated by pimps. Others lived in the area. The community is an interesting one in that it represents several income groups. It houses artists and craftsmen, blue collar workers and the unemployed. Italian and Portuguese ethnic groups are the most visible. There are several working class hotels with country bars. The Queen Street Centre stands almost on the middle of the district.

Certain of the girls in Parkdale appeared content relaxed on the street. They would disappear into the bars for a while to meet with friends in cold weather. Most of their time was spent in donut shops and small restaurants which provided a good vantage point to the street. Their conversations (of which we were often a part) centered on complaints about the weather, tricks, or other girls who were charging too little (under cutting). The proprietors of the shops often asked if we were journalists and appeared supportive of the women.

Other girls in Parkdale were serious about their work. They often worked alone and were not willing to talk. They were described to us as having pimps and quotas to meet.

Most street prostitutes in this area reported having tried working indoors in hotels, in escort services or strip clubs. Nonetheless three factors surfaced again and again to account for their preference for work on the street: immediacy of money, the lack of need to socialize with clients, and the available friends.

Street Prostitution in Other Cities

Timmins reported no street prostitution. Apart from occasional hookers working in front of the Coulson Hotel, Sudbury claims to have no street prostitutes. Information received in Hamilton indicates that there are approximately forty street "hookers" who frequent the main streets including Bay, Martin and James. The amount of street prostitution occurring in Windsor also appears minimal. There is no clearly defined area for street soliciting but some does occur on Goyeau and Ouelette and Wynadotte Streets near the City Centre. It was estimated that there were approximately eight girls who work all year, but that no girls work in the winter.

London has minimal street prostitution with a community of five or so including two transexuals and several native women. Prostitution in Niagara Falls takes place in an eight block measurement near the Bridge Street area. The number of girls increases up to one hundred on any given night in the summer with the average being thirty to forty. During winter months it is said that there are twenty girls or less. Ottawa presented as a city with clearly defined streets of prostitution each reserved for various types of prostitutes. Clarence Street contains the older prostitutes from Chez Lucien; Parent Street claims the transvestite population who frequently has regular customers. Young girls in the fifteen to twenty year age category were found along Murray Street and biker's girls were located along Sommerset West.

Case Study: Female

At this point, a case study of a female street prostitute might serve to bring into clearer focus the realities of being "in the life".

"Joanne" is a nineteen year old prostitute working the Parkdale area of Toronto. Born in Dartmouth, N.S., she is the youngest of five children, and the self-described "black sheep" of the family. Her father is a sergeant in the armed forces whom she characterizes as a "creep" and an abusive alcoholic who battered her mother constantly; she describes her mother as a "weak" person who sided with the father in order to keep peace. Joanne's oldest sister became pregnant and left home; her two other sisters currently work for the post office. Her brother, whom she describes as "disliking women", is a university student.

In early adolescence Joanne became involved with a peer-group of "difficult" kids involved with alcohol and drugs. At age fifteen her parents removed her from school and she completed grade nine.

At age seventeen, Joanne reports she left home and moved to downtown Halifax with a female friend who had previously worked as a prostitute in Montreal. It was this friend who introduced Joanne to the streets - in Joanne's words, "it was the only solution".

Certain problems soon developed. Her father tried to kidnap her from her apartment in Halifax on several occasions, and she found herself increasingly

surrounded by "friends" who were violent, tough and demanding. Joanne remember feeling trapped. It was this that sparked her to move to Toronto. She continues to work as a prostitute. Apart from babysitting, she has never had another "job".

Joanne presently shares an apartment with a female room-mate who works as a short-order cook in a fast-food restaurant. She describes her room-mate as her closest friend.

Joanne reports never having had a pimp. She has, however, had a number of boyfriends whom she met in various bars. She states they left her when they discovered what she did for a living.

Joanne states she works the streets six days a week, generally from seven until twelve in the evening. She tries to get at least \$50.00 per trick. On a good night she will earn \$200; on a bad night, forty to fifty dollars. She reports having \$600 in the bank. Much of the money Joanne earns is spent on alcohol. She drinks daily, but claims she is not an alcoholic.

Joanne generally takes her customers back to her apartment. She states she is afraid to work in cars. Joanne has been robbed twice by her customers: one who held a knife to her throat. She reports having been beaten by a client who drove her to a remote area near Toronto, battered her unconscious, and then left her.

Although she reports never having been arrested, Joanne describes her relationships with the police as poor. She has often been questioned by them, and further states that occasionally police officers will offer her a choice between arrest or sexual servicing.

Joanne feels society in general regards her as a "low-life", and she reports frequent fights with people on the street who harass her, "straight" women in particular.

As to the future, Joanne states she would like to make enough money to open a clothes-designing business. She has no idea as to where she would like to live.

MALE PROSTITUTION

The world of male prostitution should be understood in the context of male homosexuality. From our inquiries and interviews we found that perceptions of male prostitutes in a community will be coloured by the community's knowledge of, and exposure to, the gay world. In some cities we found that people who were in touch with male prostitutes confused male homosexuality and prostitution, believing that all male prostitutes are homosexuals.

Table 28

Sexual Omentation	n/a	Straight	Gay	Bisexual
Male	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 81.8%	2 18.2%
Escort	0 0.0%	10 76.9%	0 0.0%	3 23.1%
Street	1 3.7%	23 85.2%	2 7.4%	1 3.7%
Other	0 0.0%	8 100%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Total	1 1.7%	41 69.5%	11 18.6%	6 10.2%

n/a= no answer

Feelings about male prostitution among certain groups ranged from outrage to denial depending on the location and community visited.

In contrast to female prostitutes, male prostitutes will be examined as a single entity but stratified in a hierarchy of types. Our research sample consisted of eleven male prostitutes of whom one was a transsexual. These individuals came from Toronto, Ottawa and London. In addition to our formal sample, there were numerous discussions held with individuals and groups on the street to who it was not appropriate to administer a structured questionnaire. Male prostitutes prefer to be called hustlers as the term "prostitute" is considered degrading.

In all the cities we visited, with the exception of Sudbury, police departments and social agencies expressed concern about the increasing numbers of hustlers. In Toronto, the area where male prostitutes cruise is known as Track II, encompassing Breadalbane and Grosvenor Street from Yonge to Bay Street. The two major bars worked by street hustlers are the Parkside and St. Charles Tavern. Hustlers that we spoke to indicated that other meeting places included bath houses, shopping malls, public washrooms and arcades.

Leaders in the gay community to whom we spoke outlined a method of stratification used to identify hustlers. The first group is known as "kept boys". These men develop relationships with more affluent clients frequently living with or being maintained by them in separate residences. Food, clothing and spending money are provisions accorded the "kept boys". Many in this group pursue academic and vocational interests. Like their female counterparts, mistresses, they are emotionally and physically dependent on the men they service.

The second in ranking is known as call boys, most of whom work independently and pursue outside careers. In Toronto some work for escort services, of which only one could be identified. Some call boys advertise as male models in newspapers and others seek clients through companion ads. As the gay community is a rather closed one, word of mouth is another method of obtaining clients.

The next category of male prostitutes are known as bar hustlers. These men meet clients by frequenting gay bars and some of the better known hotels. Bar hustlers require a special skill in approaching prospective clients because these clients are often "closeted" or secretive about their homosexual activity.

Like their female counterparts the street hustlers have the lowest status and comprises the largest group. This is the group that our research focuses on.

Four distinct personality types are said to appear in the hustler group. These types were identified by gay spokespersons. The personality types are:

- 1) The avowedly homosexual hustler - often young, who needs money for survival or recreation. Their hustling is accepted by their peers and is separate from their gay life style.
- 2) Heterosexual hustlers - often very masculine in appearance who engage in homosexual prostitution strictly for money. Their hustling is accepted by street peers as a performance for survival. (This group can become aggressive or even violent with customers to prove that they are not gay).
- 3) Sexually undecided men - this group will often tell friends and the police that they are heterosexual and hustle mainly for money. Often they enjoy the experience and are experimenting with homosexuality. These males can become extremely dangerous if they develop guilt feelings about their behaviour and act out their confusion.
- 4) Transvestites and transexuals - this group is comprised of hustlers who are both homosexual and heterosexual in orientation. They are seen as the lowest in the street pecking-order.

From our discussions and observations it became apparent that prostitution is more acceptable in the gay community than in "straight society". Perhaps this attitude is prevalent in the gay community because of the acceptance and tolerance of freer sexual encounters. In addition, we found that women, who have

contact with male prostitutes (including policewomen and social service agency workers) view them in a more favourable fashion than do heterosexual men.

Several social service agencies in Toronto felt that hustlers were far better off, in many ways, than female street prostitutes. It was suggested that males seldom encounter physical violence from customers unless they provoke it. There does not appear to be the dominance issue characteristic in female prostitution. In this sense, relationships are thought to be more equalitarian. As well, straight society members often suggest that young hustlers are misguided or confused youth. Women engaging in prostitution, however, are often viewed as "whores" or "sluts".

Police tend to be hustler's main antagonists, often physically and verbally abusing them. This fact likely arises from the long standing uneasiness that police are known to have about homosexuals.

Some of the reasons why men work the street are cited in a study on hustling by Peter Maloney.¹ Street work is said to be exciting, providing opportunities for "partyng" and entertainment and funds for drugs, and alcohol. The attraction to street life also arises from the freedom and independence it allows. As well street hustling provides positive reinforcement (money, affection and praise from clients) for individuals who would otherwise often see themselves as failures.

One major area where male hustlers differ from their female counterparts, street prostitutes, is in the lower fee for service charged by males. Some services are done for as little as thirty dollars. It is believed that this difference can be accounted for by the other transactions included. Frequently, as part of payment, the client provides a hustler with basic survival needs including food, money, shelter and drugs - all forms of barter in hustling. By contrast, female street prostitutes are responsible for taking care of their own survival needs unless they have a pimp. In addition male prostitution readily lends itself to the development of emotional attachments which can last for periods of time. The minority status of homosexuals suggests that both customer and hustler often have a common bond and are both seeking emotional support.

Eight of the 11 males we interviewed left home between age fifteen and seventeen because of conflicts with parents - especially fathers. This finding would support certain observations in Peter Maloney's study that many males are running from bad family situations and are looking for someone to take care of them (often a father figure).

Hustling also may have a second agenda for the males involved. The men frequently seek entrance to the gay community to participate in both a social and sexual context. Seven of the eleven male hustlers we spoke to left or were kicked out of their homes as a result of exhibiting effeminate or homosexual traits. It can be argued that many other conflicts existed in these families before questions around sexuality arose. Nevertheless these young men perceived their sexuality to be a major source of rejection.

Hustlers can become mobile laterally and vertically in their adopted community. From the hustler's descriptions this community is often accepting, supportive and provides a sense of belonging. A central issue then for a large number of hustlers is resolution of their homosexual orientation.

Further proof of this observation came from social agencies who report that young men arrive in Toronto from areas such as Northern Ontario and the Maritime Provinces where their sexual orientation is unacceptable. In addition, social agencies have reported young men arriving at the bus terminal in Toronto from the suburbs dressed in clothing acceptable to their families and home towns. Once in the downtown core, the young men change from their blue jeans and boots and don open shirts and tight pants -apparel that will be acceptable to a weekend of hustling. Once the weekend concludes the youth return home by bus for a week of straight life. The cycle is repeated the following weekend.

According to gay spokesmen, male hustlers are said to be washed up in their careers at twenty-one years of age. It appears here that the demand is for youth. Twenty one is considered to be the end of the road.

As previously noted, the amount of reported male prostitution in other cities appears to be related to the acceptance of homosexuals in these communities: larger cities who have established and vocal gay communities acknowledge the presence of male prostitutes; other communities deny it.

Timmins reported no awareness of male prostitutes. In Sudbury, the police stated that there were no male prostitutes. However, one social service agency person told us that there was rampant business in male prostitution at the Frontenac Hotel. Windsor has a group of male prostitutes who operate in Dieppe and Jackson Park and, on a busy night, there will be six to eight hustlers working twenty to thirty cars. The steam baths here are also a center for male prostitutes.

London male hustlers operate in Victoria Park, and the Halo Club and Bannisters (two gay bars). According to police, several parking arcades and one bath house are often meeting places as well. Two transsexuals provide service along Dundas and English Street in the north end of the city.

Niagara Falls police are unaware of male hustlers, although prostitutes frequenting the area near the Whirlpool Bridge have been found to include male prostitutes.

St. Catharines is reputed to be the hustling centre in the Niagara Region. Yates, Fairview Street and the vicinity around City Hall are known hustling grounds. Shopping mall washrooms in this area are other meeting places.

According to police in Hamilton, experienced an influx of hustlers after the bath raids in Toronto. Hustling occurs along Jackson Street (Jackson Square) and behind the YMCA. Transvestites work on King and Main Streets.

Ottawa has several bars, including the Elgin Hotel that are known as hustling centres. Major Hill Park, behind the Chateau Laurier Hotel, and Mackenzie Street, are areas known to those who require the services of hustlers.

Discussion

The majority of men in our sample were between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. This contradicts what has been said by others about male hustlers and their career span. Our finding likely reflects the apprehension and anxiety that many younger males had about speaking to us.

The majority of men in our sample indicated that they liked their work (seven) and did it by choice. The sexual orientation of nine men was gay. Two were bisexual. Our evidence suggests that there is more pleasure derived from the sex act for hustlers than for female prostitutes.

Ten men in our sample indicated using drugs, all on a daily bases. All of the men claimed it was easier to work "stoned". Eight had been involved in selling drugs. This figure is high relative to the rest of our sample.

We chose to relate drug use, for the purpose of this discussion, to an issue one can call dependence-independence. Heavy drug use is often felt to be the result of unmet dependency needs in young people. Most of the males we spoke to wanted to be in control of their lives, and of their sexual encounters. They all tried to present as independent. This issue of dependence-independence is one of much struggle for most young men - for hustlers who are disenfranchised from their families it no doubt presents considerable concern.

We noted that police are said to be the major antagonists of hustlers but our results are not clear about this. Seven respondents stated that they got along well with the police, yet certain of these men also reported that they had been harmed physically or verbally by police. The hustlers from London and Ottawa did not report being hassled by the police and were among the group who reported getting along better with police. Police in these cities appeared inclined to ignore the smaller number of males. The seven respondents from Toronto all reported being harassed or beaten by police. This may reflect Toronto's larger, more visible, and more militant gay community which the police feel more need to control. This attitude was not verified in our interviews with police officers. An explanation for certain male hustlers ambivalence about police was suggested by certain street agencies in Toronto. Often police are seen by young men as symbols of masculinity - forceful, tough and independent. And as such they represent a desirable group to be close to.

Case Study: Male

A case study is presented of a male hustler encountered by the researchers in Toronto. This young man was particularly articulate and opinionated, offering us numerous insights into the world of male hustling. Although one cannot generalize from a single description, his story is not unusual.

John is a twenty-three year old male hustler working the Track II area of downtown Toronto. He was born in Halifax in an upper-middle class family. He has one sister and two brothers. His mother, to whom he states he was very close, died when he was nine. He remembers her affectionately and believes things would be easier for him if she were still alive. His father subsequently remarried, and John reports that he never fit into the new family. He states that he was very effeminate when younger, and derided about this by his family. John has only a grade six education - he states he experienced great difficulty in school. He finally left home at age sixteen because of domestic problems and reports no feelings of attachment towards the others in his family stating that they in turn offer no encouragement for him to return home.

John has had a variety of jobs, all of them unskilled, and low-paying. He was introduced to hustling through a female prostitute, and states that he was immediately attracted to the life by the "easy" money, and the fact that he was in control and independent. In John's words, "I am a self-employed individual."

John has worked seven years in Toronto. He reports he is generally on the streets four nights a week, and that he turns two to three tricks per night. Hustling is more lucrative in the winter as there is less competition. John charges forty to fifty dollars per trick, and earns approximately \$500 per week. He has \$150 saved. In his words, "money slips thru' my fingers. I spend a lot on looking after myself."

John describes his clients as primarily white (through choice), middle to upper class, and of thirty to forty years of age. The majority are married. He states that sex is the primary reason for contact. The encounter are broken up thus: forty percent of the time at the client's homes, thirty percent of the time at John's apartment, twenty percent of the time at the baths, and ten percent of the time in a car/parking lot.

John states that many of his clients are his closest friends in that he trusts them and learns from them. He has one client who he has seen every weekend for a six year period. He has never had a boyfriend or lover in that "my serious emotional attachment is to myself".

John states that he uses drugs daily, and, like many hustlers, he will also occasionally sell them. He describes drugs as a "social hello". They are also a bargaining tool in that he will charge a customer less if drugs are offered.

John reports spending much of his time socializing with other male hustlers. This activity generally takes place in one or two "gay" bars which have become a second home to him.

John has been arrested three times: for use of stolen credit cards, breach of probation, and drinking underage. As a hustler, he describes his relations with the police as poor, claiming both physical and verbal abuse by them. In his words, "they beat the hell out of me . . . they violated all my rights."

Both John's doctor and his lawyer are gay.

Although he says he likes his work, John reports that he does not enjoy hustling as much now as he did in the past. He states that the physical act itself has become routine - "sometimes I get off, sometimes I don't. It depends on the situation."

With regard to the future, John states he would like a secure position as his "own boss." He further states that although he is "homosexual", and does not understand women, he would like to eventually marry and have children.

According to John the "washroom trade" is the lowest form of hustling activity. It is also dangerous because the police may be observing the encounter via a stake-out. Street-hustling was described by John as the "easiest" way to solicit business. The hustler simply stands on the street and tries to attract the attention of potential clients who may be cruising the track area. A conversation is then initiated. Money exchanges hands once the hustler has removed his clothes. The baths are described as more "difficult" than the street in that they are often resorted to for "free" sex. Therefore there are only certain times of the day in which one can hustle, primarily the afternoon. The hustler simply sits dressed in a towel in a cubicle and watches for any day-time clients who may be circulating. Discretion is necessary, however, in that the trade is sometimes discouraged in the baths. Hotels were described by John as the most difficult "arenas" for male hustlers. They must look approachable to potential clients, and must be able to justify their presence to hotel security guards.

ESCORT SERVICE

The escort service provided us with our second largest group of prostitutes. We interviewed twelve women and one man in Toronto as well as one female from Ottawa. The discussion in this report comes from our Toronto group.

The escort trade, in the past operated as a legitimate source of partners for people requiring such a service. Today it is mainly a front for prostitution with only a small proportion of callers requesting legitimate escorts. The 1984 Toronto Yellow Pages contain 121 ads listed under this service - making it a visible entity. The cost of these ads varies from \$20-\$160 per month making Bell Canada a large benefactor. Many of the escort services place three or four ads using different names in order to remain competitive. Estimates from phone calls we made and from proprietors of the businesses we contacted are that fifty percent of the agencies are out of business at any given time.

Some escort services are a one-woman operation while others have several women working for one manager(ess). We spoke with four women who operate their own businesses. These women clearly differentiated between male and female run businesses claiming that the majority of other services are operated by women as a front for men. The women felt strongly that men who run this type of practice were more harsh and exploitative of their employees than were their female counterparts. An example cited of male run services were those operated by motor-cycle gangs.

The women in the escort service we spoke to had all been call-girls previously and continued to work some calls, especially with regular customers. The proprietors of services using several women tended to coordinate the movements of the girls by pager systems. The girls would return calls to the service and have clients assigned them. The female proprietors cooperate considerably among themselves, borrowing one another's women when business is hectic and informing each other of "bad tricks".

The business telephones are usually operated for about fifteen hours a day from twelve noon until three or four in the morning. When proprietors receive calls from prospective clients they frequently "interest" the men by answering questions about price, location, types of services offered and physical characteristics of the "escorts". When clients telephone and leave their numbers, the calls are returned by the service owners who make arrangements for meetings to take place in the hotel, or advise clients to check into a hotel. Sometimes a private home will be visited but not before certain checks are made. Manning the telephones is considered a real talent, according to the women, as one must be patient, seductive and accepting of crank calls. When the managers wish to have time off they usually transfer their line to one of the females in their employ. Most of the call girls use pseudonyms with their clients.

The charge quoted to customers in the female run services is between \$150 and \$250/hr. depending on the service provided. Sometimes the customer is asked to pay for transportation. The proprietors usually receive a fifty dollars fee or thirty percent of the call depending on the agency. Male run services we learned

from our own phone inquiries charge twenty dollars an hour or a sixty dollars flat rate as well as a transportation fee. Tips considered the girls earnings are to be worked out with her. A full fee quote is thought to avoid the woman a "dead run" - a client who finds prices too steep.

Payment can be made in cash, although cheques are accepted from some regular customers. Credit cards are a common form of payment. The proprietors we spoke to all have other businesses such as interior design companies or management consultant firms. Others operate through stores or restaurants. Restaurants or stores provide a cover for the service and take a percentage of the fee. This practice also allows clients the opportunity to conceal their visits.

Some of the women in our sample have male friends who accompany them on their calls and drive them home. This practice was adopted by those women who had had bad experiences with customers. According to the women, in situations where clients were aware of the driver they appeared not to mind his presence.

Female proprietors of services that we spoke to are quite protective of their employees. The women are usually contacted in the hotel room by the proprietor after arrival and the clients "OK'd". The escort women have an established series of explanations and phone calls to make if they sense trouble. Hotel security can be notified instantly if any difficulties are encountered.

The sexual exchange between customer and call-girl lasts approximately thirty to sixty minutes. The price commanded dictates that certain exotic forms of sex be available, for example, threesomes, or S & M. Certain of the girls specialize in a particular area. Many are asked to entertain at stags and parties. The women referred to the sexual part of their act as "dead sex" explaining that they had learned to become actresses.

Despite the fact that efficiency is a credo of this business, escort women we talked to saw clients in a more positive light than did street prostitutes. They were prepared to spend time talking to, and listening to clients' problems about work or family and clearly saw this as part of their job. Their aim was generally described as developing contented customers who would become regulars.

The business has fluctuations which according to the female owners, varies with the state of the economy and business community. Financial concerns, amongst the call-girls revolved around increasing competition. Proprietors worried that their own girls might give out private telephone numbers, thus avoiding the necessity of going through the agency.

We met many types of women employed in the escort service including secretaries, university students, flight attendants, art gallery operators and housewives. As a group these women were articulate and able to examine many of the issues outlined in our research. Some worked full time while others went out on two or three calls a week. Women in this group were older than our sample of street prostitutes, with seven being older than thirty. These women often contacted us on their own and presented as an organized and business oriented group, who focused on profit.

We will note two particularly interesting characters found in our sample. One forty year old housewife operated a service specializing in older female "escorts". The service is reputedly very successful. She explained that she started in the business following a divorce at the age of forty-three. She got involved in the business while living in Calgary and needing additional money. She is presently married to a fifty-four year old professional man who states that he enjoys the additional income and feels that she should have her own independent life. According to her, and substantiated by comments from other participants, there is a large demand among older people having difficulty meeting mates.

We spoke to a male gigolo who worked for one of the female escort services. He is from another country which he would not name. This young man explained that he had worked as a prostitute since the age of fifteen. At that time he left home due to parental conflicts and was taken in by a couple who had a brothel and taught him the business. He has been in Canada for thirteen years. His clientele is fifty percent homosexual men and fifty percent female. He stated that he was often employed by "lonely" females to provide lengthy afternoon liaisons.

According to this gentleman, there are approximately fifteen gigolos who work off and on in Toronto. Most are in the twenty-five to forty year age group and are considered to be "arty" types - musicians, painters and sculptors. For the most part, this career lasts until thirty, when physically, gigolos become less desirable.

Discussion

It is difficult to make inferences from a sample of thirteen people. Nonetheless we also had many informal discussions with women who chose not to be interviewed. We will attempt some analysis of certain of our results.

Almost all female prostitutes we spoke to saw the escort service or call girls as the top rung in a hierarchy which included hotel and bar girls, and street prostitutes. The escort service can be seen as a series of choices which move a woman from the street or from bar work into this service. The age of our respondents was considerably older (six were between twenty-two and thirty and seven were over thirty) than other types of prostitutes. Over one-half of the respondents had worked in bars and hotels. Many of the women suggested that fifty percent of women in the escort service started to work on the street.

In our sample the planning component in their lives appeared clearest and many had considerable savings and investments. Over two-thirds of the sample declared income tax.

Table 29

Do you put money away	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	6 54.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	10 76.9%	3 23.1%
Street	0 0.0%	11 42.3%	15 57.7%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	0 0.0%	28 48.3%	30 51.7%

n/a= no answer

Table 30

Do you file income tax	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	3 27.3%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	9 69.2%	4 30.8%
Street	0 0.0%	8 30.8%	18 69.2%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	0 0.0%	24 41.4%	34 58.6%

n/a= no answer

Reliance of this group on intoxicants was less than in other forms of prostitution. While more enjoyed their work than any other group of women.

Women in the escort service have been harmed by customers - almost to the extent that street prostitutes have. We did discover that many of the harms had been perpetrated on them while they worked in other forms of prostitution. (Unfortunately the distinction of harm while working in a particular type of service is not properly made in our questionnaire.)

Table 31

Have you been harmed by customers	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	5 45.5%	3 45.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	8 61.5%	5 38.5%
Street	0 0.0%	18 66.7%	9 33.3%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	1 1.7%	35 59.3%	23 39.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 32

How	Beaten up	Robbed	Raped	Mixture	Harassed	n/a
Male	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	3 27.3%	0 0.0%	8 72.7%
Escort	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	4 30.8%	1 7.7%	5 38.5%
Street	1 3.7%	3 11.1%	1 3.7%	12 44.4%	1 3.7%	9 33.3%
Other	1 12.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%
Total	3 5.1%	4 6.8%	3 5.1%	20 33.9%	3 5.1%	26 44.1%

n/a= no answer

An interesting digression here was the opportunity to view escort women with their children. Three had younger (seven to ten years) school age children who were not aware of their mother's work. The women worried about how they would explain their business to the youngster when they became more aware of the nature of their employment. We encountered one fifteen year old boy - the son of one of the escort women, and according to his mother he was not upset by her work.

Escort Services in Other Parts of Ontario

According to police forces, the escort service business often reflects the affluence and available income in a city. Sudbury is without an escort service. Police reported charging nine individuals who attempted to organize the business. An undercover policewoman was used as a prospective prostitute. Windsor does not have its own escort service. At present, because of police interference and economic adversity in the city, services operate out of Detroit with women coming over the border as needed. Hamilton has had several escort services from other cities. Ottawa attempted to set up an operation, but these individuals were arrested. However, two or three advertisements continue to appear in legal newspapers. The Niagara Region apparently has an escort service which advertises through the newspaper and is currently under investigation. London has had as many as ten escort services operating in the last two years. Police reports that the community has a certain tolerance of them. In Ottawa we were told that 10-20 escort services operate at any given time. Police state that visitors and government officials are the primary patrons.

In cities with smaller populations, police indicated that extortion is often an issue that they worry about. The intimacy of a smaller city, the higher prices commanded by prostitutes and the profile and visibility of certain clients predisposes them to blackmail.

Most of the police forces we spoke to in the various Ontario cities where escort services existed did not have major concerns about this form of prostitution. To date there has been little public pressure to close escort services. A likely reason centres around the fact that this form of prostitution takes place out of the public's view. According to several police forces, investigations and prosecutions are costly. This type of operation often requires many extra man-hours and the additional use of wire taps and other forms of electronic surveillance. It is not uncommon for a \$250,000 operation to warrant ten thousand dollars in fines.

A clearer understanding of this form of prostitution might place the escort services in Ontario along a continuum which includes or has included massage parlours, escort services, companion ads, club ads, dating ads, and introduction services. The methods and practice in law enforcement have often caused the same participants to move from one area to another as each developed visibility and notoriety.

From talking to street prostitutes we discovered that often sixteen to eighteen year old prostitutes had attempted to work in this territory. Many spoke of wanting to form their own services with friends. As well we found social

agencies where workers, sensing danger on the streets, were advising girls to enter such a service. Agency workers felt that the escort service offers a place for street prostitutes to re-locate if they are pushed off the street.

OTHERS

Our study includes a final grouping of prostitutes called "others". As noted this group was drawn primarily from sources of prostitution which did not provide easy access to the women.

Strippers

The strip business in Ontario is alive and well. All of the cities we visited had at least three strip clubs - some as many as ten. Police inevitably told us that they believed ninety percent of the women in these clubs resorted to prostitution as an additional source of income.

In the cities where street prostitution is minimal or does not exist - as in Windsor, London, Sudbury and Hamilton - much of the sex industry centres around the strip clubs. Certain of the clubs clearly cater to a working class group of men who have a lunch time and early evening business. Others appear as more oriented to white collar workers, often discouraging blue jeans.

In cities other than Toronto, strippers are permitted to dance nude, i.e., without "G" strings. Table dancing where strippers dance on a patron's table for a \$5 fee is encouraged throughout Ontario. In many cities this is a lucrative business where certain girls will be asked to table dance anywhere between three to forty times/night - thus earning an additional \$150-\$200/night. Certain cities have licensing requirements for the girls as well as for the club owners. Therefore, women with criminal records can be sifted out in this way. Police feel they have some control through licensing.

Strippers as a group would not talk to us. Where we attempted to speak to them directly or through intermediaries (bartenders) it was clear that they were not interested. We suspected that the alleged strong male control of the business accounted for their silence. Motorcycle groups were in evidence around most of the clubs outside Toronto. According to police, social agencies, and newspaper reports, these groups control the movements of large a number of strippers. The same sources told us that certain strippers from Quebec were booked through different parts of Ontario by the 'Montreal Mafia'.

We were able to speak to two bartenders who worked in these clubs. From them we learned that it is difficult to generalize information about strippers. Certain women work alone or through booking agents. Many belong to different groups of men (as described). In certain clubs the girls work for free and keep their tips from table dancing, others are paid set fees depending on the club or area. Often the women have a group of regulars who pay them for services after their performances. Women involved with bikers keep the money they earn from prostitution as spending money, as opposed to their earnings from dancing which they turn over to the bikers. Often, the business is lucrative enough so that the women do not need to turn tricks.

We interviewed one stripper formally and spoke to several informally. The use of drugs - particularly cocaine and speed - is well known on the Ontario strip circuit. The women we spoke to explained that it was hard to perform 'straight'. Table dancing means that younger women with 'less aged' bodies are constantly in demand. Many of the older strippers who perceived themselves as "burlesque artists" have left the business since table dancing has come into vogue. They perceive stripping as distinctly on a higher rung than street prostitution, and with the advent of table-dancing, they claim the two "roles" have become blurred.

Of interest in our total sample of prostitutes is that approximately twenty-five percent of all other women had been strippers at some time. Several social agencies speculated that if younger street prostitutes were pushed off the streets this would likely be one area of work they would gravitate to.

Hotel Prostitutes

Hotels with their bars and lounges have usually been a major source of activity in prostitution. Customers who are transient can often meet women and men in the course of their travels. We were told that the hotel scene is a minor source of prostitution in Toronto given the popularity of escort services and street prostitution. The Airport strip does still have a number of bar girls who work the different hotels. Many of these girls have worked in the escort service and report that hotels are becoming more and more restrictive. They contend that this is because of a system of 'graft' in the hotels.

Hotels continue to be a major source of prostitution in other Ontario cities. There appear to be two types of women. In those cities which have larger tourist trade like Ottawa, Niagara Falls and London there is an active group who work in the large and more expensive hotels. In Ottawa, convention periods attract large numbers of prostitutes who then according to the police, gravitate to other cities once the convention is over. This group of women are not a source of concern to police. They usually work independently and are, to most of the population, not visible. Police rarely receive complaints about them.

According to police, industrial cities with smaller populations like Timmins, Sudbury, Hamilton and Windsor, usually have a different type of hotel prostitute. These women are often married or single mothers who work while their children are in school. Often as in Hamilton, Sudbury and Timmins they are the 'old steady girls' who are in good standing in the area. They often are well known to the police, provide considerable information to them, and operate without problems. Their customers are local hotel patrons.

Massage Parlours

A last category we will examine are massage patrons. In the 1970's they proliferated as sources of prostitution in many cities in Ontario. Police and prostitutes told us that because of arrests most are now defunct. Still rumours

persist in several cities of different establishments which offer extras. These are routinely monitored by police.

Also, masseuses do advertise through different newspapers - especially in Toronto. Some offer to come to customer's home. It is believed by police that most of these women are prostitutes.

The Peel area - Brampton and Oakville - appears to be the last vestige of the body rub business. We interviewed three women who work in these salons. Police report that last year ten were operating in the area. They believed eight of these to be controlled by the underworld - two by independent operation. Conflicts arising between these two groups, as well as complaints from local politicians about the nuisance in residential areas, eventually led to a police crackdown on their operations. The body-rub parlours still in existence are worked by women who are ex-strippers, or call-girls.

CUSTOMERS OF PROSTITUTES

The law as it relates to customers of prostitutes has been applied sporadically in Ontario. At various times persons concerned about prostitution have complained that one party in this transaction - prostitutes - bear the wrath of the law. The City of Toronto has at different times tried a variety of strategies to discourage customers, such as increasing police foot patrols on certain streets, carrying out spot checks of cars and redirecting traffic.

In Ontario, customers can and have been charged with soliciting. The criminal law is interpreted differently by provinces. Criminal Code charges used against customers have been sections 193(2)(A) being an inmate of a common bawdy house and 169, committing an indecent act in a public place - often used to deal with prostitution which takes place in an automobile.

Only four customers answered our questionnaires. All were regulars of women in the escort service. All four were professionals earning over \$30,000. One individual who insisted on meeting us felt strongly about this issue. He stated that:

Prostitution should be legalized or decriminalized because human beings have always had natural and very normal and healthy needs. There should be, in our society (which is considered progressive) allowance for those who wish to avail themselves of the senses of professional ladies who are performing a normal function as is any other professional person i.e. lawyer, doctor, hair dresser, broker, housewife, etc. etc!

Our discussion of customers will mostly be based on the observations made by prostitutes. Discussions with prostitutes suggest that an overwhelming number of the clients of prostitutes are married. Street prostitutes and women in the escort service report that over seventy percent are married. As all groups of prostitutes reported that they believed their clients to be predominantly in the thirty to fifty year old age range.

Table 33

Customers Marital Status	n/a	Married	Single	Mix	Don't Know
Male	0 0.0%	7 63.6%	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	0 0.0%
Escort	0 0.0%	10 76.9%	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	0 0.0%
Street	4 14.8%	19 70.4%	0 0.0%	3 11.1%	1 3.7%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	1 12.5%
Total	4 6.8%	41 69.5%	2 3.4%	10 16.9%	2 3.4%

n/a= no answer

Table 34

Age	n/a	30	30-50	50	mix
Male	1 9.1%	1 9.1%	7 63.6%	0 0.0%	2 18.2%
Escort	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 69.2%	2 15.4%	2 15.4%
Street	3 11.1%	1 3.7%	16 59.3%	2 7.4%	5 18.5%
Other	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%
Total	4 6.8%	2 3.4%	36 61.0%	4 6.8%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

If one were to ask about the motives of customers some interesting speculations emerge. From our discussion with prostitutes, it appears that 3/4 of all sexual transactions between prostitutes and clients revolve around oral sex. Most women, especially those in the street, told us that this is what their customers want. Males and call girls reported the same experience. Some speculation as to why this might be so addresses the fact that this form of sex is

impersonal, easy, suitable to automobiles and requires little involvement from the man. Many prostitutes believe that this form of sex is taboo to wives.

Table 35

Customers Reason for seeing you	Primarily Sex	Primarily Other	Mixture
Male	7 63.6%	0 0.0%	4 36.4%
Escort	5 38.5%	1 7.7%	7 53.8%
Street	20 74.1%	0 0.0%	7 25.9%
Other	4 50.0%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%
Total	36 61.0%	1 1.7%	22 37.3%

A second reason for visiting prostitutes which surfaced in numerous discussions was the issue of loneliness. Female street prostitutes often reported that their clients wanted to talk about themselves and their lives. This group tended to talk with regulars but preferred to do as little talking as possible with most other clients. Call girls spoke of men who simply wanted to be held or hugged. They described certain customers as virgins, impotent or disabled individuals who, in their eyes, had no other sexual outlets. Male prostitutes often reported developing close relationships with their clients. Certain man wanted to spend the night with them or to socialize on subsequent occasions. Male prostitutes as we have discussed expressed similar needs.

From our discussion with prostitutes it appears that a certain group of men were curious about sex. These men wanted to ask the women questions about themselves, their lives and their experiences. Another group wanted some exotic or kinkier experiences. Those often included sado-macochism, group sex, sex involving urination, defecation etc.

A last group, perhaps evident among many types of customers, are those who choose to degrade women and clearly express their hostile feelings toward them. To the prostitutes these men are rough with them, and verbally abusive. The large number of assaults and robberies perpetrated on prostitutes by customers attest to this group.

It was very difficult to ascertain the social elan or socio-economic level of customers amongst street prostitutes. Many initially saw their clients as "rich and

important people". Later in the discussion they would describe their clients as 'dirty' or 'scruffy'. Many simply saw thier clients as being "all types". What we did observe is that prostitution on the street is available from ten dollars or twenty dollars and up if one wants to shop. As in other forms of commerce bargaining is common feature of the prostitute-client transaction and it is affordable to most socio-economic groups.

Table 36

Customers Ethnic Background	n/a	Conce- ssion	Oriental	Colored	European	Mixture
Male	1 9.1%	4 36.4%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	5 45.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	12 92.3%
Street Other						

Table 37

Social Class	n/a	White Collar	Lower Middle	Blue Collar Lower mixture
Male	0 0.0%	8 45.5%	1 9.1%	2 18.2%
Escort	0 0.0%	13 100%		0 0.0%
Street	5 18.5%	10 3.7%	33.3%	6 22.2%
Other	0 0.0%	5 25.0%	1 12.5%	3 25.0%
Total	5 8.5%	36 61%	8 13.6	10 16.9%

n/a= no answer

Table 38

Where do they come	Car	Hotel	Home	Other
Male	5 45.5%	6 54.5%	10 90.9%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	12 92.3%	10 76.9%	3 23.1%
Street	18 66.7%	20 74.1%	9 33.3%	2 7.4%
Other	2 25.0%	4 50.0%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%
Total	25 42.4%	42 71.2%	30 50.8%	16 27.1%

of the escorts - 69% list a hotel-home combination
- 9 women

of the street girls 77% list the car-hotel combination
- 12 women

Call girls in the escort service reported that all their clients were white collar or middle class individuals. They did state that periodically poorer persons would save money for monthly visits.

It was difficult to obtain accurate information about the ethnic background of customers. The groups most frequently mentioned as consumers by female street prostitutes were Italian, Portuguese and Chinese males. Many of the prostitutes, particularly those in the street, were prejudiced against certain ethnic groups.

PIMPS

Prostitution as a business often involves individuals who organize, structure and establish performance demands for prostitutes. These "managers" extract, or receive for their services, considerable monies. This individual is the pimp. The pimp is frequently stereotyped as one with flashy cars, flashy clothes, flashing jewels and a stable of "ladies".

Legally defined, "a pimp is any individual who lives either wholly or in part on the earnings of a prostitute." In addition, "evidence establishing that a person co-habits with, or habitually frequents the company of prostitutes, is, in the absence of contra-indications, considered sufficient proof of living off the avails of prostitution." Thus, by definition, any male or female involved in a relationship with a prostitute (whether as a boyfriend, husband etc.), if he is supported by her, may be judged by the law to be a pimp.

Although society does not differentiate between the pimp as lover and the pimp as manager or contractor it became clear to us that prostitutes do. Police, prostitutes and social agencies were equally perplexed by this definition.

Some of the central questions we heard discussed regarding the definition of a pimp were: Does the 'pimp' have a job? Does he or she have more than one person working for him? Would he/she be in the relationship if this person were not a prostitute? Do the two persons live together?

Our study wanted to speak to pimps and we did develop a structured questionnaire for this group. As noted in a previous section of this report, we were not able to contact any. Our report on pimps will therefore be based on the perceptions, observations and experiences of prostitutes, police and social agencies.

On numerous occasions we heard from informed sources close to prostitutes that every female prostitute has a man she works for. We were warned that the girls would not talk about their pimps. A police spokesperson in Toronto stated that "pimps are a secret the prostitutes will take to their grave".

Only two of fifty-nine prostitutes admitted to having pimps. Many spoke of pimps they had had in the past. For this reason we decided to omit the section on pimps from the results in our tables. Rather we felt it would be valuable and interesting for the reader to expand this area to include statements about husbands, boyfriends and lovers as talked about by the women.

It must be understood that many statements in this section will be based on interpretation and as such, subjective in nature.

Pimps in Toronto

In the summer of 1983, the "Neighbourhoods Committee" of the City of Toronto submitted to the Board of Commissioners of Police a recommendation that

police policy about prostitutes be altered so that "energies are directed toward procuring, living off the avails of prostitution, and the activities of pimps." The police response to the Committee's proposal centred on three main issues:

- 1) an estimated fifty percent of the prostitutes working the downtown area of Toronto work without pimps,
- 2) for the estimated twenty percent of prostitutes involved in a stereotypical pimp-prostitute relationship it is difficult to obtain sufficient evidence to support relevant charges (i.e. unreliable witnesses, the need for electronic and visual surveillance, etc.),
- 3) the remaining thirty percent of prostitutes involved in a relationship with a male, do not regard the man as a pimp. Rather, he is perceived as a boyfriend. And although the prostitute may share her earnings with him, she sees her contribution as being expenses rather than a form of extortion. As stated by the police, "there is no fear, no threat, no enforced prostitution . . . when apprehended, the prostitute will not give evidence or will give false evidence to protect, not her pimp, but her man."

It is generally conceded that Yonge St, the most widely-recognized area for street prostitution in Toronto, is wholly controlled by so-called "professional" pimps with established territories. Although a neophyte to the street may work several days to several weeks independently, it is inevitable that she will be eventually "hit upon" by a pimp who will attempt to recruit her. The second group are known as "entrepreneurs" who live with their prostitute girl friends and encourage them to work the streets. The Parkdale area in Toronto operates within the so-called "entrepreneurial" framework.

According to police and prostitutes, pimps in Toronto - at least those who are traditional, are black. Most come from the West Indies via the Maritimes. There are a few who are American. According to police the majority are not well off. They are young men (eighteen to twenty-six) who have had little success in school. Their daily life revolves around gambling and drugs and they survive on a day to day basis. These men learn to manipulate and control the girls initially through flattery, romantic illusions and promises. Many of the girls feel cared for with the pimp promising to look after bail, children and tricks.

For many girls, lost in the downtown core of a city like Toronto, pimps provide a source of reference. The girls are, for the most part undisciplined and without daily routine. Pimps set expectations and standards about hours of work, number of tricks, drug use, etc. This provides a framework for the girls to operate in. It is not surprising then that so many of the women not only love their pimp but also believe they are loved.

Social agencies in Toronto report being extremely wary of pimps. They are afraid of this group and have reported violence administered by pimps against the girls in their residence. Two agencies reported that being a pimp was one of the reasons that barred an individual from their service. Yet they were clear that the

pimp-prostitute relationship is a symbolic one and that often pimps were recruited by the women.

Romantic Relationships and the Prostitute's Perceptions of Pimps

Among street prostitutes two out of twenty-seven women admitted to having a pimp. A twenty-year old prostitute in Ottawa reports having a pimp for two years. She gives him fifty percent of her money. He is a member of a motorcycle group and provides her with shelter, drugs and money. He has beaten her in several occasions for holding back money. She has been hospitalized on one occasion. Despite being known to police as a 'pimps' girl, she still reports caring for this man. An eighteen year old woman from Toronto gives her pimp all of her money. She reports that he provides her with spending money and advises her about clients. Despite being beaten by him twice she states that 'we have a future'.

Three respondents denied having pimps but to us were clearly involved in a form of 'pimp-prostitute' relationship. Our eighteen year old lady from Ottawa reports living with two male friends who are members of a local motorcycle group. She is paid a weekly allowance by her roommates in return for giving them her money. She feels protected and has a sexual relationship with both.

A twenty-three year old young lady in Ottawa reports being involved in a lesbian relationship with a lover. She has a five year old son from a previous relationship with a man she describes as a pimp. Her lover manages their finances and provides her with spending money; she also provides tricks. She has been beaten by her when she refused working.

A seventeen year old young lady from Toronto lives in a rooming house situation with a male stripper. She turns her money over to him to pay for their expenses. His earnings are saved to allow them to move to Egypt in the near future. She stated that he insisted she work and would become aggressive if her production was low.

Four women (eighteen to twenty-six) in our sample of street prostitutes report being married. All describe themselves as the main breadwinners in their families. Their husbands were described as working sporadically or being unemployed. Two of these women have children. All four women described financial concerns: worried, warned about their husbands' commitment to the relationship and described chronic fighting.

Three street prostitutes (sixteen to nineteen) reported having boyfriends who had their own sources of income. The relationships were described as casual - often revolving around 'partying' and drinking. Two of the women explained that being a prostitute was a source of considerable friction in the relationships as their boyfriends were often jealous and unaccepting.

Seven respondents (twenty to thirty-two) stated they they were not involved in 'romantic' relationships. They do not have pimps now but described having had pimps in the past. Three reported having pimps in other cities (two in Calgary and

one in Ottawa). We were told that unlike Toronto you could not work the streets without a pimp in Calgary. In Calgary these men would charge a 'splitting fee' for women who wanted to get away from them. Four of these women had pimps when they first got into the business. They described being less familiar with the street, apprehensive of clients and generally needing reassurance.

Six prostitutes denied now or ever having a pimp. They had all been accosted and threatened by pimps. When they refused they often were subjected to verbal threats and abuse.

It was clear from our discussions with street hookers that heterosexual relationships were a problem for them. Many stated that they had consciously given up male relationships in their private lives since becoming prostitutes. Two street prostitutes stated that they were gay. One was bi-sexual. Among the most graphic explanations from two street hookers we heard were:

"I have had boyfriends in the past who did not accept what I do and tried to talk me out of the business. I want my independence."

"I am shy in personal relationships with men. I am afraid to care for someone who might leave me or try to become my pimp."

"Prostitution has ruined my chances for a normal sex life. I resent having to give it away for free."

We discussed pimps with women in the escort service. None of the women admitted to having pimps at present. Four women (twenty-six to thirty-eight) though, described their relationships as having pimp-prostitute overtones - especially in that they all gave a certain portion of their earnings to the men. All four women did not like pimps - seeing them as an evil. One of the women described her thirteen years long relationship to her 'man' as sado-masochistic. She explained that "we are all little girls who get involved in parent-child relationships where we feel we are no good and deserve to be hurt."

Similar themes were very much in evidence in the relationships of the other three women to whom we spoke. All lived with or were involved with men they supported. They acknowledged liking the support or companionship of these men yet they claimed that they did not enjoy physical contact with them. Often they felt the men to be parasitic and reported feeling "like the man" in the relationship. The three women did not see their relationships as permanent although they had all lasted between one and three years.

Two of the women simply stated that they did not believe straight men could accept what they did. Two other women in our sample described themselves as asexual. Both had started their careers with traditional pimps. Both stated that they had 'tricked' for the love of their man. Both described themselves as disillusioned with men and happy to be alone. One woman in talking about pimps stated "Selling yourself can shatter your ego and destroy your self-confidence. You have little left and think little of yourself. Your pimp is the only one who wants you. He compliments you, keeps you high and makes you believe in a dream."

Two women in the escort service we talked to spoke in a positive way about their marriages. One was a common law relationship. Certain factors distinguished them from the other women. The women were thirty-eight and forty-nine years of age and had started their careers as call girls in their mid thirties. Both were previously married.

Their partners were professional men who were quite comfortable financially. Both men were involved in a second marriage. Neither family had children living with them. The children were with previous spouses or in boarding schools. We also met the men who reported some discomfort about their partners' work, stating that at times they felt jealous as well as having their lives disrupted by calls.

We can address ourselves briefly at this point to a group of people one could call facilitators of prostitution. These are people who directly profit from the business by directing customers to prostitutes and receiving compensation from either of the two parties.

This group includes bartenders in hotels or drinking establishments, hotel doormen, taxi drivers etc.

In Toronto we were told that in many hotels - especially on the airport strip - doormen and bartenders work hand in hand with many of the girls. Toronto's taxi drivers would usually take us to main areas of street prostitution. In Niagara Falls, Ottawa and Windsor we spoke to taxi drivers who each had a 'black book' and who were prepared to provide us with prostitutes. In the other centers cab drivers told us to go to the strip clubs.

Pimps in Other Cities

In London, agencies told us that a motorcycle group acts as pimps for strippers. They would control this industry and would "rent-out" their girls often on an individual lease. The London Free Press in writing about street prostitutes stated that the girls did not need pimps as they formed a small community of their own. Police corroborated this information, but cited several ethnic coffee houses which notoriously housed juvenile runaways.

Ottawa has had few problems with pimps. There has only been one founded procuring complaint since 1983. Police informed us that established prostitutes did not have pimps. Street prostitutes and escort service prostitutes were usually controlled by motorcycle groups. These men were described as small time hoodlums. Particular interest was an elderly madam who walks the market area looking for customers for specific girls.

Pimps are a large concern in Niagara Falls. There are two forms. Eighty percent of the women on the street come from the U.S. (Buffalo). At the end of the evening they return to their pimps who await them. Police estimate that sixty percent of the girls use heroin supplied by their pimps. The girls are controlled and must pay quotas to the pimps. Police reports indicate that women have come to them seeking help because they did not meet their quotas. A second source of

pimping for the girls revolves around the control of traffic in the street. Local motorcycle groups charge prostitutes fifty to seventy dollars a night to stand on a street corner, and increase the price after five tricks. If girls refuse to pay they are beaten. Pimps and bikers appear to cooperate here.

The single escort service in Niagara Falls is under investigation and is allegedly run by motorcycle club.

Police in Sudbury report that strippers whom they believe to be prostitutes are controlled by motorcycle groups.

Windsor police report that in five years, three pimps have been charged and convicted. Much of pimpery exists at the level of 'boyfriend'. Males who want to feel important by impressing their friends. The few street prostitutes work independently. Again motorcycle groups appear in control of strippers.

Prostitutes in Timmins work on their own according to Police.

Hamilton police state that there are very few pimps. Motorcycle groups again appear to handle the strippers.

JUVENILE PROSTITUTION

It was not the mandate of this study to specifically examine the issue of juvenile prostitution. This is being done by a special Committee on Sexual Offences against Children and Youth which will shortly be presenting its findings. However in the light of numerous concerns about the subject expressed to us, in conducting our research, some comments are warranted.

We spoke to two juvenile prostitutes in our survey. One was a fifteen year old runaway girl we met in Toronto. She had left a C.A.S. home in Ottawa. Another was a fourteen year old girl from London presently under police investigation. We spoke to numerous girls who appeared young but gave their ages as over 16. According to police and social agencies in Ontario many youngsters quickly find false identification and lie about their age.

The foremost thing that emerged from our discussions is that juvenile prostitution is primarily a street problem whose central issue is homelessness. Numerous social agencies in Toronto, London and Ottawa suggested that juvenile prostitution was the run in an economic context. With the downward trend on the economy many children are being forced into prostitution to survive.

Studies by the Bureau of Municipal Research and by Andree Ruffo⁴ in Montreal suggest that a large number of juveniles who turn to the streets are runaways from broken homes or home situations which are viewed to be intolerable. Many are C.A.S. truants. Often they have been victims of incest and sexual abuse. Lacking money, shelter and family support, they gravitate around prostitution and pimps for money, security and attention. As stated by a Toronto agency "for fifteen minutes work they make forty dollars. If they steal they're likely to get caught and penalized. But a blow-job isn't going to get them into trouble."

Juvenile prostitution emerged as an issue in four of the cities we visited: Niagara Falls, Ottawa, London, and Toronto.

In Niagara Falls police report that among the street prostitutes in the Lower Bridge Street area, there are high school students from Buffalo. Police in Ottawa report picking up one or two C.A.S. runaways per week in the market area of the city. Several social service agencies and hostels in Ottawa reported that there appears to be an increase in juvenile male prostitutes - boys between twelve and fifteen.

In London female juvenile prostitution appears to centre around an ethnic restaurant patronized by runaway street kids according to the police. A reporter from a London Newspaper informed us that "young girls are hooking for five dollars and hotel room. A street worker from a London social service agency further informed us that juvenile males are involved in hustling activity in several parks. The link between juvenile prostitution and pornography was made by several social agencies in London. Many fourteen to sixteen year olds involved in prostitution also have pictures taken of them for private use.

A number of agencies we spoke to in different cities reported that juveniles from their areas "ran" to Toronto where it is assumed they become involved in prostitution-related activities.

It was universally felt by persons contacted that stricter legal penalties for the clients of juvenile prostitutes should be adopted, or that existing legal penalties for the clients be more strictly enforced. Ignorance of age should not be considered. Police report that difficulties arise, in that while the law addresses the issue of sexual intercourse with a minor, it does not cover other forms of sexual contact. Sections 146(1)a and (2) of the Criminal Code make it an indictable offense for a man to engage in sexual intercourse with a female under fourteen years of age or with a female between fourteen and sixteen years of age. However juvenile prostitution usually takes the form of oral sex, not intercourse rendering the law inadequate.

PROSTITUTION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Through the course of our study, we spoke to various agents of social control including the police, social agencies, lawyers, and hotel security.

Opinions of social agencies were sometimes markedly different. Police departments unanimously wanted present legislation changed. We did speak to the Chief of Police in one area who strongly felt, from his experiences, that police were often harsh with female prostitutes. The perceptions of these groups will be outlined in the following chapter according to the cities we visited.

Toronto

Toronto is the largest city in Ontario with a population of approximately two and one half million residents, and is the financial capital of eastern Canada.

The police representatives we spoke to in Toronto all suggested that there has been an increase in the number of girls working the streets since the Hutt decision in 1978. Prior to 1978, the Criminal Code contained a section that made soliciting in a public place for the purpose of prostitution a crime. In the precedent-setting ruling which is known as the Hutt decision, it was determined that individuals must be "pressing and persistent" in their approach to be found guilty of soliciting. The police stated that this judgement has made it extremely difficult to obtain soliciting charges, thus allowing prostitutes greater freedom on the streets.

The increase in the number of street prostitutes can also be explained by certain policing policies. In the early 1970's, Toronto closed the body-rub parlours on Yonge Street. The "clean-up" was an effective measure in deterring the public nuisance aspects of prostitution, but it also forced prostitutes back on the streets, and increasingly into residential areas.

According to police fifty percent of the street prostitutes range in age from sixteen to nineteen years. Although their exact numbers are difficult to determine, several police and social services agencies estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 street prostitutes work in Toronto over the summer months.

The Morality Bureau in Toronto is comprised of sixty-two officers headed by a Staff Sergeant. Of these, fourteen officers are responsible for investigating prostitution related activities. If the activity is a major one, Morality will investigate themselves. If, on the other hand, the complaint is considered to be minor, the Morality Bureau will advise the division involved and request that they conduct the inquiry.

In Toronto, policing street prostitution combines formal and informal methods of control, and reactive and proactive policing. On a formal level, enforcing sections of the Criminal Code will depend on the circumstances of the infraction as well as on recent court rulings or interpretations of the law. The

police report that it is still possible to "get" a soliciting conviction if the judiciary is pro-police.

Sections of the Criminal Code such as "causing a disturbance, by impeding or molesting" and "loitering in a public place" were used, but have recently been overruled in court decisions. A Criminal Code section now often used is "counselling to commit an indecent act in a public place". One of the problems surrounding its enforcement, however, is that the act must be performed in the presence of one or more persons and the police do not count as a witness.

This section of the Code is often restricted to "newcomers" to the street because the girls are not yet aware who the undercover officers are. Police report that the girls are often unaware that their activity constitutes an offence and are surprised when arrested. One officer suggested that new girls believe that their activities are legal and some, after their initial arrest, will leave the street.

On occasion, female undercover officers have been placed on the street in an effort to crack down on the customers. This method strongly depends on the availability of appropriate personnel and resources. Operations of this nature are expensive because of the time required to complete the investigation and the manpower needed. When this course was taken, clients were arrested and their names were published in the local newspapers. This reduced the problem for a short time, but its effectiveness fell short of the desired result. Among the reasons offered by police to account for this, is the fact that sixty-five percent of the customers of street prostitutes, are of ethnic origin. Language barriers may have hindered their understanding what was written in the newspaper and prevented wives from knowing what had happened.

On occasion, police will elect to use less formal methods of control. We were told by one officer that uniformed police have been used to surround a group of street prostitutes. The purpose was not to make arrests, but to deter customers from approaching the girls.

According to police, policing attention to male prostitutes and street hustling has waned in the past several years. For the most part this is because hustling occurs in non-residential areas and does not engender the kind of neighbourhood upset that female street prostitution does.

Charges used against male prostitutes, according to police and spokespeople for the gay community have included impeding pedestrians and combined charges from Sections 422(b) and Section 169(a) of the Criminal Code: counselling to commit, and committing an indecent act in a public place. Some male prostitutes are arrested on drug-related charges and others have been ticketed using municipal by-laws for parking offenses.

Citizen concerns about street prostitution focus primarily on female street prostitutes. From the citizens we spoke to and from documented submissions made to Toronto City Council it became apparent that the complaints were wide ranging. These issues were summarized in a report by the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research and were said to centre around the concentration of prostitutes, criminal

related activities and nuisance problems. Citizen concerns included: traffic problems, with congestion and honking horns; noise throughout the night in previously quiet areas; trespassing on private property; residents being pestered and treated abusively by prostitutes and their customers; the negative impact on youth activities and neighbourhood businesses in the area, and increased crime and violence.

Prostitutes involved in escort services are not heavily policed and according to one officer the escort service exists through the good will of the police. Presently they are left alone because of the attention being given to street prostitutes. When investigations of escort services did occur, police sought the principals involved, (the girls are not committing a crime) and charged them with procuring and living off the avails of prostitution. During the course of our interviews police representatives indicated that escort services are investigated strictly by complaint. Additional inquiries vary according to time and manpower available.

The police officers we spoke to all expressed concern about the limitations of the existing law and recommended changes. Decriminalization was opposed "because street prostitution is a nuisance" and decriminalization would mean "mayhem on the streets". Other police would be happy to simply have the law reinstated as it existed prior to the 1972 Criminal Code amendments and to include vagrancy, and loitering. One police officer would like to see laws changed so that police would have more leeway in dealing with pimps. Concern was also expressed by police for the need of some law to protect females in the fourteen to sixteen year category. As it is now, children accidentally fall into laws that exist for adults.

Toronto police do not favour the enactment of municipal by-laws to control street prostitution because this type of legislation does not empower to make arrests. The offending individual is simply summoned to appear in court and fined. If a court appearance is side-stepped, only then can power of arrest be invoked. Fining an offender without a court appearance does not provide for recommendations in probation. However, police have, in some situations, resorted to handing out traffic violations in the form of parking tickets in an attempt to curb the problem, but have found this method to be ineffective as well.

In Toronto, eleven social service agencies were contacted in order to learn what their perception of street soliciting was and to determine what assistance they provided to prostitutes.

The agency personnel we interviewed, except those involved in the Salvation Army Outreach Program, indicated that their programmes were not aimed specifically at prostitutes or prostitution related activities. Essentially, most agency programmes are eclectic in approach.

Seven agencies reported that the number of their clients involved in prostitution related activity to be over two hundred. The remaining four agencies estimated their client involvement in prostitution activities from ten to one hundred.

The consensus of all agencies was that the primary needs of clients involved in prostitution centered around two areas: placement/housing, and protection and counselling, including psychological, medical and legal advice. The stress for girls involved in street prostitution was the "rock bottom" basic need for shelter.

Certain agencies saw the existing law as ineffective to control street prostitution and recommended "stiffening" the Criminal Code to include clients. Five agencies favoured decriminalization and saw this as a means of providing designated, safe areas for prostitutes to work.

The agencies spoke as one voice in their urging for increased social services including housing, employment and shelters. They suggested, as well, combining agencies to effect a multi-service approach. There was universal concern expressed about juvenile prostitutes and the need for a highly specialized visible service directed at their needs.

Interviews held with hotel managers revealed that they had no problems with call girls or with guests requesting the names of girls. They said that their relationship with the Morality Squad was excellent and if a situation appeared problematic they would ask the police to make their presence known. Hotel management reported that they had no difficulty with male hustlers and believe them to be intimidated by the environment.

Brampton and Mississauga

The Airport area of Toronto is reported to be a center for prostitution because of its numerous hotels and a large transient population. Peel police are responsible for this area which includes two major urban centres: Mississauga (population approximately 320,000) and Brampton (population approximately 150,000).

Peel Regional police have a morality division comprised of eleven persons. One officer is mainly responsible for prostitution.

Police in the Peel region report minimal existence of male or female street prostitution. On the other hand, they do report a major problem with body rub parlours. In addition to providing in-house service, body rub parlours supply call girls who will go to private homes. The women who work in these 'parlours' are frequently older street prostitutes and strippers who have moved from Toronto into Peel region because of various problems. Police estimate that there are one hundred women working in this service. In addition, they estimate that another one hundred women work the restaurants and taverns in the 'Airport Strip'.

Body rub parlours present major problems in that of the ten which existed one year ago, eight were presumably controlled by the mafia. Two independant operations attempted to open clubs but were threatened, creating some concern to the police. Police have received complaints from local politicians about problems in the residential area of Peel where one prostitute was stabbed. In addition, complaints have been voiced about undesirables congregating in these areas.

Police also have received complaints from Malton City Council that body rub parlour attendants were going to stores dressed only in their lingerie. Customers have been irritated about being overcharged, improperly serviced, or discriminated against.

Police did crackdown on the parlours using, in part, the bawdy house section of the Criminal Code as well as charges of income tax evasion. They estimate that the difficulties in policing are due to underworld involvement in the business causing the girls to be moved from place to place before undercover police can locate them.

Police in Peel have not received complaints about the female prostitutes working in restaurants, taverns and hotels. These women are not perceived as a problem and are left alone.

Peel police felt strongly that prostitution related offenses should carry minimum sentences. This would encourage police to enter more expensive investigations with a feeling that their effort would not be 'wasted'.

Hamilton-Wentworth

Hamilton-Wentworth is an area with slightly over 400,000 people. Hamilton has a population of approximately 320,000. It is an industrial city close to Toronto and is dominated by the steel industry. The Regional Police force has a Special Services Branch which is further divided into a vice squad. The squad has ten men and is responsible for prostitution.

Hamilton police report that prostitution is not a problem in the city. In the summer fourty female prostitutes work in the uptown core of the city. The streets include James St, Martin St. N. and Bay St. N and have several working class hotels. Among these women, there are between six and ten regular prostitutes well known to the police who operate "in good standing".

Police report an increasing number of male prostitutes. Approximately ten to fifteen males cruise Jackson St. in good weather, while King and Main streets have approximately ten transvestites and transsexuals working the streets. Some hustlers are known to work in Hamilton's gay bar as well as in certain public washrooms.* Police report that no escort services are now operating. However, several introduction services are operating in Hamilton which may be fronts for prostitution.

Juvenile prostitution as well as traditional pimping appear to be non-existent. Perhaps because of Hamilton's proximity to Toronto these groups would have moved to a larger more anonymous city.

* Police say that there was an influx of hustlers to Hamilton after the Toronto Bath House Raids.

Police report that certain prostitutes are tolerated and are of help to them. They will give information about persons involved with guns, drugs and minors. There appears to be limited complaints from the public about street prostitution in Hamilton. Some concerns have come from businessmen in the north end of the city.

But the Hamilton police also wants the Hutt decision to be repealed. In the past two years, they have used the criminal code section involving indecent acts and gross indecency with some effect. Soliciting charges have disappeared. Police also want automobiles to be designated as a public place.

We interviewed two Hamilton lawyers who have experience in defending prostitutes. Both stated that the phenomenon is relegated to Hamilton's north end, a poor commercial area. Both felt that prostitution in the large hotels is carried out discretely. More organized forms of prostitution, including body rub and escort services, were either well controlled by licensing by-laws and fees or the offending individuals were quickly arrested and left the business.

We formally interviewed three social service agencies in Hamilton. Of the three agencies, only the Elizabeth Fry Society had more than fifty prostitute clients per year. The Elizabeth Fry Society perceived drug addiction, unemployment and poverty to be the central issues in male and female prostitution. This agency felt decriminalization was in order and indicated that the issue of prostitution could be adequately dealt with through municipal by-laws which would legitimize and open up existing support services for prostitution.

London

London is situated in southwestern Ontario and has a population of 255,000. Education is the main industry with the majority of the population employed at the University.

London police report that between 150-250 prostitutes operate in the area. This figure does not include female strippers who are also believed to be prostitutes. A major concern of the London Police centres on male prostitutes. They estimate that twenty to thirty young males hustle in Victoria Park, often using the washrooms for meeting places. Several major department stores have alleged that hustlers operate in their washrooms.

In the east end of London, ten to fifteen street prostitutes including transvestites, transsexuals and native girls have been known to work in the summer months. Police indicated that approximately one hundred females operate from the different classes of hotels. Most of these women are not bothered unless complaints are lodged against them. Ten active escort services have been counted at different times in London. Police report that this form of organized prostitution concerns them much more than "one on one prostitution" because extortion may often be involved. Several incidents have occurred and were cited, where women have taken pictures of their customers and then demanded money. In addition,

police stated that several dating services have sprung-up in London where they suspect prostitutes to be working.

Citizen complaints about street prostitutes in London have mainly come from merchants in the east end of the city. As well, citizens have voiced concerns about the alleged hustling they encounter in the public washrooms of department stores.

Recently a court case in London revolved around an ethnic restaurant and coffee house where runaway juveniles were involved in prostitution. Police convicted several men for procuring but generally found the sentences to be lenient. The London community was upset by reports of this incident and asked for further investigation into this issue.

Police in London complained bitterly that they were understaffed. Major investigations of organized prostitution such as escort services consume a large number of man hours, leaving little man power for other concerns. As a result, they have relied on informal methods of policing often involving harassment of customers. Sections of the Criminal Code which have been used effectively include the bawdy house section as well as the section dealing with procuring and living off the avails of prostitution.

The London Police recommended that the Hutt decision be reversed and that minimum fines be implemented for certain acts of prostitution.

The Social Service Agencies we interviewed in London had limited contact with adult prostitutes and did not believe that aspect of prostitution to be a problem in the area. However, they were worried about an apparent increase in the number of adolescent prostitutes.

Many workers felt that one problem in London surrounding juvenile prostitution was that it appeared to be underground and therefore difficult to identify. A second problem in handling prostitution in London relates to the attitudes of the population. According to the agencies we spoke to, London is a conservative and comfortable town with traditional values. In this sense prostitution is often publically denied or minimized. There appears to be a concerted effort on the part of social control agents to keep it invisible. The agencies believe their underfunding reflects the desire of the city to keep this issue under wraps. All agencies spoke of the immediate need for adequate budgets to provide sufficient services to their clients.

Windsor

Windsor was the most Western city we visited in Ontario. It has a population of 192,000 and faces the city of Detroit. Windsor is heavily industrialized and closely linked to Detroit and the automobile industry.

Windsor Police have a Special Investigation Division of their force which is responsible for prostitution. The division is composed of one staff sergeant, three sergeants and seventeen constables. Windsor has a heavy influx of Americans from

Detroit coming over in the evenings and on weekends. The drinking age in Detroit is twenty-one while in Windsor it is nineteen. Windsor's large number of bingo parlours are attractive to a growing number of Americans who are prepared to spend money in the city.

Police and social agencies reported that Windsor was a centre for prostitution in the 1960's. Street prostitutes from Detroit were reported to arrive in Windsor in carloads. As a result of public complaints police put additional pressure on the girls using the loitering and soliciting (pre-Hutt) provisions of the laws.

The general consensus among people we spoke to in Windsor, including traditional facilitators like taxi drivers, was that if we wanted to find a working girl, we should cross the river to Detroit. The pressures of informal policing methods are said to having been responsible for eliminating much of the prostitution business. Between six and eight street prostitutes have been counted on the main streets of Windsor in the past year. When restaurant owners complained that business was being disrupted the police would send patrol cars to the area and threaten customers or advise the girls to work in bars.

They reported that approximately ten women work in one of Windsor's downtown hotels. The hotel is well known for prostitution. If there are no complaints the women are left alone.

Between ten and twenty male prostitutes work mainly in the area of Dieppe Park. Men, often from Detroit, wait in cars to pick up the male hustlers. Police will note the license plate numbers of the vehicles and advise Detroit police who may contact the person in question. Police report that they have used bawdy house laws to handle male prostitution in a local steam bath. The bath was patronized by many Americans who want their homosexual identity to remain unknown.

Police indicated that when escort or call girl services have attempted to establish operations in the city, they have obtained procuring and bawdy house convictions using electronic equipment. However, the procedure is costly, lengthy and difficult to use.

Police estimate that twenty girls from Windsor go to Detroit daily to work as prostitutes. They state that red light areas in Detroit are well known and well defined. Conversely, when American girls are arrested in Windsor they usually are persuaded to plead guilty and are deported upon conviction.

Because of the economic hardships currently felt in Windsor and the need to welcome American tourists, police feel strongly that the laws surrounding prostitution are not strong enough. They complain that as a result of the Hutt decision, they no longer have control of the streets, and have resorted to harrasing clients and prostitutes. They requested that the old soliciting law be restored, that a car be designated a public place and that the word "frequenting" in the bawdy house section of the criminal code be changed.

We spoke to a well known Madam who works in Windsor. She states that prostitution is minimal in that most hotels do not allow working girls on the

premises. She also stated that during the summer, 'part time hookers' appear in many of these hotels.

Social agencies dealing with females reported having almost no clients who were prostitutes. Two agencies in Windsor reported having twenty-five to fifty male hustlers who work sporadically. Both agencies saw male prostitution as a problem which should be dealt with by establishing better facilities for young males in the area. Appropriate housing was a paramount issue.

Ottawa

Ottawa has a population of approximately 400,000. The federal government is the main employer.

Police in Ottawa report that prostitution in the city is well contained and controlled. However, Hull, Quebec, is considered to be one source of Ottawa's nightlife. Police reported that some Ottawa prostitutes do ply their trade in Hull.

There are thirty-five police officers in the morality bureau in Ottawa. They are headed by five staff sergeants.* During good weather police report that there are fifty to seventy-five female street prostitutes working in well defined Ottawa areas. Approximately twenty to twenty-five male prostitutes work regularly in the summer. They estimate that twenty-five women work through want ads and there have been as many as ten escort services advertising in Ottawa's newspapers and telephone book.** The number of women who work in high class hotels fluctuates greatly according to police.

Police report that they attempt to control prostitution in a reactive rather than proactive fashion. They receive approximately fifty complaints per year, especially from merchants in the Market area about the noise and traffic problems. Local residents in the Market have also complained about noise. We spoke to two businessmen who explained that they felt their patrons were turning away because of loud and foul language used by prostitutes. Customers have periodically complained about being robbed by street prostitutes. Certain hotels where male prostitutes reputedly work have protested about them loitering in lobbies. Hustlers have reportedly been robbed by young boys in certain parks.

Ottawa police perceive policing as having a band-aide effect. They state, categorically, the existent law is inadequate and that the old vagrancy law should be restored.

* 1 staff sergeant will work with four or six men as investigation requires.

** Police believe several private masseuse's operate with a steady clientele.

To control the escort services, police have mainly relied on the procuring section of the Criminal Code. Customers have been charged using the bawdy house section. Police investigations of such services are lengthy, time consuming and extremely expensive. As a result of their efforts, a major (\$500,000) investigation would often yield small fines.

Police experience difficulty in controlling street prostitution. They often rely on surveillance of hotels and motels, and stop prospective customers informally as a deterrent. They also arrest people in parking lots under the gross indecency section of the Code. At times, plainclothes police officers are used to enforce the bawdy-house section of the Code. Police explained that they often requested the customers of prostitutes to cooperate in return for a certain anonymity.

Many of the ethnic communities in Ottawa have their own pimps and sources of prostitutes causing police worry about extortion. Pimps are protected by these ethnic communities who have their own codes of silence. Motorcycle gangs operating escort services have threatened clients with extortion by demanding money in return for anonymity.

We interviewed three of the major social agencies in Ottawa who reported having prostitutes as clients. In addition we spoke to several agency persons informally. All three agencies reported that less than ten percent of their client population were involved in prostitution. Street prostitutes constituted most of this clientele. Two of the 'street agencies' we interviewed documented a growing number of juvenile prostitutes - especially young boys.

The agencies do not perceive prostitution to be a problem in Ottawa. They do not provide specific programs apart from counselling, advocacy and placement/housing which are available to all clients. All three agencies believed that minimally intrusive measures should be made into the lives of prostitutes and felt that increased and more cohesive services should be made available.

The agencies felt that societal attitudes and the available law were the main impediments to better control prostitutes. Societies' mixed feelings about prostitutes as well as the judiciary treating prostitution in a flippant and sexist fashion were faulted. One agency felt that decriminalization would help remove some of the marginal status of prostitutes; a second believed that if there was a real demand from customers legalization should take place. A third agency thought that prosecuting customers as well as prostitutes would improve the situation.

Niagara Falls

Niagara Falls is located in south central Ontario and has a population of 71,000. With the tourist industry mushrooming in the summer, it is estimated that the population triples.

As with some other cities in Ontario, the prostitute population that presents problems, to the police and public, are the street prostitutes.* Police estimate that there are up to one hundred girls working the streets on any one night in the summer. In the winter this number drops to twenty or less. The women range in age from nineteen to twenty-six, the oldest known is thirty-five. Approximately eighty percent of the girls working the street are Americans coming across the border from Buffalo and the majority are said to be black.

The police suggest that most of the girls are organized and controlled by pimps and bikers.** There are a few known local pimps but the majority are black and come from Buffalo or Niagara Falls, N.Y. The girls are controlled by the pimps through quotas set for them. Those organized by bikers are charged fifty to seventy five dollars a night to stand on the street corners under the threat of having their legs broken if they do not comply.

Police estimate that at least sixty percent of street prostitutes are involved with drugs; mostly hard drugs like heroin. Violence occurs in the form of territorial fighting with the local girls pitted against those from Buffalo. Weapons are used and stabbings have occurred.

Niagara Falls police have reciprocity with those in Niagara Falls, N.Y. providing each other with information. Since New York State laws about prostitution have been tightened up, New York police report fewer prostitutes in Niagara Falls, N.Y. or Buffalo. This has resulted in a large number of clients as well as prostitutes emigrating nightly from the U.S. side.

Policing policy and practices reflect the philosophy of "charge as many people as possible with as many things as possible". This is felt necessary to ensure control. Enforcement of applicable sections of the Criminal Code most used include acts of gross indecency and interfering with the lawful enjoyment and use of property. In addition, the Highway Traffic Act is enforced as it pertains to the use of seat belts. Trespassing laws are enforced including those outlined in the Railway Act. These enforcement techniques are aimed at both the customer and prostitute.

Citizens' complaints in Niagara Falls focus on the harrassment aspect of street prostitution. Women who are not prostitutes are being harassed in the street and men are being solicited. Business people have also presented complaints to the police about the prostitutes including being confronted with acts of gross indecency, with filth from litter and having their employees subjected to obscene language. There have been few complaints from customers unless they have been robbed or assaulted.

* This group operates primarily in a four block area of the city near the Whirlpool International Bridge.

** Control occurs because of fear of physical violence, for monetary reasons and/or addiction to drugs.

According to police there are no problems with male or child prostitutes. There are, however, an estimated twenty to twenty five strip clubs but police state that they know of no link between prostitution and stripping in Niagara Falls.

Police say the prostitutes are very seldom of help to them and will only tell as much as needed for their own benefit.

Police we spoke to stated that the prostitution laws as they exist are ineffective and need to be changed. They would like to see a criminal code law similar to the one prior to the "Hutt" decision, as well as have authority to charge for vagrancy and loitering again. There is at present an attempt to formulate a by-law with sufficient provincial backing to allow the policeman to arrest.

Only one social service agency was contacted in Niagara Falls and the staff claimed to have clients who were involved in prostitution related activity. It can be suggested that since at least eighty percent of the street prostitutes are Americans and controlled by pimps this likely precludes their use of social service agencies.

The Mayor of Niagara Falls expressed concern to us about the image of the city being currently projected. He hopes that the problem will not spread to the tourist area of Niagara Falls. As such, he thinks that the police must have appropriate tools to curb "obvious" solicitation and develop long range control practices for the city.

St. Catharines

St Catharines has a population of approximately 125,000 people. It is in the heart of the Niagara fruit belt.

The local police and the John Howard Society reported that St. Catharine's is known in the Niagara Region as a centre for male prostitution. The city of Welland would have a similar problem.

It is estimated that fifteen to twenty hustlers work on two residential streets and in the washrooms of two known shopping malls. The problem likely exists because of the long standing existence of a gay bar in the area. Police report monitoring the area, and in the past using the bawdy house section of the Criminal Code successfully to obtain convictions.

Some of the male prostitutes are reported to be young natives who have difficulty finding employment or who work seasonally. These men often prostitute themselves in both the U.S. and Canada as they have dual citizenship.

Cornwall

Cornwall is Ontario's most easterly city, and headquarters for the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority with a population 46,144. Police report minimal prostitution activity in Cornwall and have not charged a prostitute in eight years.

Sudbury

Sudbury, the only city visited in Northern Ontario, has a population of approximately 90,000. It is an industrial city where nickel mining is the main industry.

The Sudbury police reports that there is no street prostitution. They know of no juvenile or male prostitution. Approximately ten to fifteen prostitutes, all local women, work in a central strip of the city characterized by hotels and taverns. These hotels usually feature strippers and have an afternoon crowd usually comprised of unemployed people.

The strippers are frequently married women and have regulars they see in the hotels. Some are well known to the police. Outsiders are not easily accepted in these hotels. The operation is low key and customers usually approach the women. Often husbands of the women are alcoholics who do not know what their wives do; some of the women are native Indian.

Periodically, prostitutes have complained of outsiders coming to their hotel to work or of being asked by hotel managers for "favours". Such a charge resulted in one of the hotels being prosecuted in July 1983 under the bawdy house section of the Criminal Code. Police report that when the women were moved out of hotels they did go to the street. Sudbury police report that there has been only one prostitution related charge in the past two years.

Nonetheless, they want the Hutt decision reversed, feeling they would have greater control in their operations.

Police indicated that they assumed a proactive role in eliminating a massage parlour and escort service that attempted to set up business. They stated the city was too small for such an operation to remain anonymous. Undercover police women were used to bring about procuring convictions in this investigation.

Of four social agencies contacted in Sudbury, three reported no prostitution related activity among their clients. The remaining agency, the Elizabeth Fry Society reports that the primary needs of their clients would be best met through a women's counselling center and halfway house for street women.

Timmins

Timmins has a population of 46,000 and is a silver and zinc mine centre. Police in Timmins estimated that there were twelve active prostitutes whom they do not regard as a problem. "In the past four or five years, we have not laid a charge against a prostitute in our area nor have we seen any need to do so. The girls do not loiter or solicit on the streets and they have no complaints from the public. The women work on their own with no pimps."

CONCLUSION

Rather than attempt to prove or disprove any thesis about prostitution, this study has attempted to give the reader an aerial view of the phenomenon as it exists in certain parts of Ontario. Toronto has been the city most focussed upon.

At times it was difficult to define prostitution and decide what parameters to include in it. As an example, the writer recalls being propositioned by two native women in Sudbury who wanted someone to buy them drinks. The question arose whether or not to conclude they were prostitutes and attempt to interview them. In this sense, it became apparent that few could isolate prostitutes from others involved in the sex industry such as strippers, nude models, and newspaper companions.

Some subjective impressions remained with us and may reflect our own experiences and biases. Street prostitution appeared to us, for the most part, to be a "reactive" form of behaviour. We met young women and men whose backgrounds were characterized by poverty, family conflict and often physical or sexual abuse. They appeared to give little thought to their needs, beyond those required for day to day survival. One could argue that this characteristic is common to an entire segment of society, or that it is a function of a particular age group. Nonetheless, it was difficult for us to conceive street prostitution as anything but a transitional period for many young people. In light of this, prostitution does not appear to be the central issue in the lives of these people, and further criminalization of this activity would be of little benefit to them.

Other forms of prostitution that we studied, notably the escort services and hotel prostitutes are much more proactive in their behaviour. They appear better organized and are oriented to issues like service delivery and profit. The participants are older and expressed having more choices at their disposal.

The central issue for society in dealing with this form of prostitution, is to decide whether or not it is prepared to acknowledge it, and allow this behaviour some permanent form of expression.

Several areas left us uneasy at the termination of the study. The biased and small sample of prostitutes we spoke to made it very difficult to address the harms inherent in this behaviour. Additional studies, as well as a longitudinal study of prostitutes might provide further insights.

It was interesting to observe the intense debate among different pressure groups and citizens during our inquiry. One came away with the feeling that prostitution, in many way, is a barometer indicating the numerous changes that are taking place in certain traditional social institutions.

All of the police departments we spoke to wanted revisions in the Criminal Code to include stronger provisions for the arrest and prosecution of prostitutes. Yet, from discussions with them and other concerned parties prostitution was perceived as being a problem in only two cities - Toronto and Niagara Falls.

Our explanation for this is that despite the fact that police in many of the cities in Ontario do feel public pressure, from time to time, regarding prostitution, where they perceive the harm to the weak they are able to rely on informal methods of control. These methods have included harassment, intimidation of prostitutes and clients as well as peripheral forms of arrest involving alcohol, drug and traffic offenses.

These forms of control have not worked in Toronto likely because of its size, anonymity and tradition of civil liberties. Niagara Falls because of the influx of American women unable to work under more repressive state laws have not been deterred by informal policing. These two cities need additional strategies to control street prostitution.

From the prostitutes' perspective, especially those committed to this form of activity, increased social control has often meant, regrouping and devising new forms of expression. This was apparent from the plethora of available avenues for work described to us.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Peter Maloney, "Street Hustling: Growing Up Gay?" Thesis prepared for Directed Research in Juvenile Justice for the Faculty of Law and Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, 1979, Unpublished.

² Bureau of Municipal Research, Civic Affairs, "Street Prostitution in Our Cities," February 1983, p. 2.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Andree Ruffo, "La prostitution des mineurs: l'enfant depose de son enfance," document de base prepare pour le Conseil Consultatif Canadien de la situation de la femme (C.C.C.S.F.), Ottawa: C.C.C.S.F., 1983.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PROSTITUTES

PERSONAL HISTORY

1. How old are you?

- 1) under 16
- 2) 16-21
- 3) 21-30
- 4) 21-30
- 5) over 30
- 6) no answer

2. Where do you come from originally?

- 1) same place you are "working"
- 2) different place than where you are working"
- 3) no answer

3. a) Where is your family?

- 1) same place you are working
- 2) different place than where you are working
- 3) no answer

3. b) Tell me about your family?

- 1) difficult family situation but stayed at home
- 2) difficult family situation and left home before 16 years
- 3) relatively stable safe environment
- 4) lost contact with family due to parental death
- 5) lived in a series of foster homes
- 6) kicked out of home due to "problems"
- 7) no answer

3. c) What is the economic class of your family?

- 1) do not know
- 2) blue collar
- 3) white collar
- 4) unemployed

4. How far did you go in school?

- 1) less than grade 9
- 2) grade 9 or 10
- 3) grade 11 or 12
- 4) grade 13
- 5) post secondary training
- 6) university
- 7) No answer

5. Have you taken any other courses besides those completed in school?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) if yes, which ones?
6. Have you had other jobs besides being a prostitute?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer
7. a) How did you become a prostitute?
 - 1) through friends
 - 2) client solicitation
 - 3) other way
 - 4) no answer
7. b) Why did you become a prostitute?
 - 1) no other source of income
 - 2) wanted additional income
 - 3) drugs
 - 4) thrill
 - 5) to be own boss
8. How long have you been a prostitute?
 - 1) less than 1 year
 - 2) 1 to 2 years
 - 3) 2 to 3 years
 - 4) 3 to 4 years
 - 5) more than 4 years
9. What is your sexual orientation?
 - 1) straight
 - 2) gay
 - 3) bisexual
 - 4) no answer
10. Are you or have you been married?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer
11. Do you have children?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) not applicable

If yes, who looks after them?

- 1) self
- 2) daycare
- 3) not with me
- 4) husband
- 5) boyfriend
- 6) not applicable

12. a) Are your closest friends prostitutes?

- 1) most are
- 2) most are not
- 3) none
- 4) no friends

12. b) Do you live with someone?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

13. How do you see yourself in 10 years?

- 1) no idea
- 2) uncertain
- 3) general plans
- 4) definite plans

14. a) Do you like your work?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

14. b) Do you do it by choice?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

15. What would you change?

- 1) nothing
- 2) another job
- 3) safety
- 4) police harassment
- 5) legalize
- 6) decriminalize
- 7) no answer

MOVEMENTS OF PROSTITUTES

1. Have you been involved in more than one kind of prostitution?
Yes ___ No ___. If yes, which one(s):
 - 1) stripper
 - 2) escort service
 - 3) body rub
 - 4) street prostitution
 - 5) bawdy house
 - 6) hotel
2. What is the longest you have resided in one place?
 - 1) _____ months
 - 2) _____ years
3. How long have you worked in this city?
 - 1) _____ months
 - 2) _____ years
4. How much do you work in one day? In one week? Seasonal?
 - 1) no answer
 - 2) not applicable

PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS

1. How much do you earn? Weekly? Yearly? Seasonal?
 - 1) hourly service fee _____
 - 2) fee charge for specific service _____
2. How do you spend your money?
3. Do you pay rent?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer
4. Do you have any money put away? In the Bank?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer

5. Do you file income tax?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

PROSTITUTION AND CRIME

1. Have you ever been arrested?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

2. For what reasons?

- 1) related to prostitution
- 2) unrelated (violent)
- 3) unrelated (property)
- 4) drug/alcohol
- 5) mixture
- 6) not applicable

3. What was the result of the arrest?

- 1) charges dismissed
- 2) fine
- 3) probation
- 4) jail
- 5) charges outstanding
- 6) acquitted
- 7) not applicable

4. a) Do you have a pimp?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) not applicable
- 4) no answer

4. b) How much do you pay him? _____

4. c) How does he help you?

4. d) Has he ever harmed you?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) not applicable
- 4) no answer

5. a) Do you use drugs?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

5. b) How often?

- 1) every day
- 2) occasionally
- 3) never
- 4) not applicable

6. Is it easier to work stoned?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

7. Have you ever sold drugs?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

HARM TO PROSTITUTES

1. Have you ever had a venereal disease?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

2. a) Do you have a doctor?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

2. b) Do you have regular medical checkups?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

3. Do you get along with the police?

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) no answer

4. a) Have they ever harmed you?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

4. b) How?

- 1) physical assaults
- 2) threats
- 3) both
- 4) no answer

5. Do you give them information?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

6. Do they protect you?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

7. Have you ever been beaten up, robbed or raped by customer?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer
- 4) harassed
- 5) mixture
- 6) beaten
- 7) robbed
- 8) raped

8. Do you use social agencies?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

9. How do they treat you?

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

10. How are you treated by

Lawyers

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

Doctors

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

Others

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

11. Do the girls on the street help each other?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) not applicable
- 4) no answer

12. How do people feel about you in general?

- 1) no answer
- 2) accept
- 3) don't accept
- 4) don't know

CUSTOMERS

1. Who are your customers?

Ethnic Background

- 1) WASP
- 2) oriental
- 3) colored
- 4) european
- 5) mixture

Social Class

- 1) blue collar
- 2) white collar
- 3) mixture

Married vs. Single

- 1) married
- 2) single
- 3) mixture
- 4) don't know
- 5) no answer

Age

- 1) under 30
- 2) 30-50
- 3) over 50
- 4) mixture

2. Who do they come and see you?

- 1) primarily sex
- 2) primarily for reasons other than sex
- 3) a mixture of both

3) Where do you go with them?

- 1) car
- 2) hotel
- 3) home
- 4) other

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CLIENTS

1. Sex

- 1) female
- 2) male

2. Age

- 1) under 21 years of age
- 2) 21-30 years of age
- 3) 31-40 years of age
- 4) 41-50 years of age
- 5) 51-60 years of age
- 6) over 60 years of age

3. Marital Status

- 1) single
- 2) married
- 3) separated
- 4) divorced
- 5) common-law

4. Racial Origin

- 1) Caucasian
- 2) Negroid
- 3) Canadian Indian
- 4) Oriental
- 5) other - could you specify _____

5. Average Annual Income

- 1) under \$10,000
- 2) \$10,000-30,000
- 3) \$31,000-50,000
- 4) \$51,000-70,000
- 5) \$71,000-90,000
- 6) over \$91,000

6. Type of Employment

- 1) factory "blue collar" worker
- 2) skilled and/or technical worker
- 3) white collar worker
- 4) professional
- 5) unemployed

7. Education - What is the last level of education that you attended?
 - 1) grade 0-8
 - 2) grade 9-11
 - 3) grade 12-13
 - 4) college diploma
 - 5) university degree
 - 6) graduate studies
8. How often do you require the services of a prostitute?
 - 1) once a year or less
 - 2) every few months
 - 3) once a month
 - 4) every few weeks
 - 5) once a week
 - 6) several times a week
9. What is your sexual preference?
 - 1) heterosexual
 - 2) homosexual
 - 3) bisexual
10. What would you say is your primary reason for obtaining the services of a prostitute?
 - 1) entertainment
 - 2) sexual gratification
 - 3) companionship
 - 4) other - could you specify _____
11. What would you like to see happen with criminal legislation regarding prostitution?
 - 1) criminalization
 - 2) decriminalization
 - 3) legalization

Why?

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PIMPS

1. Sex

- 1) female
- 2) male

2. Age

- 1) under 21 years of age
- 2) 21-30 years of age
- 3) 31-40 years of age
- 4) 41-50 years of age
- 5) 51-60 years of age
- 6) over 60 years of age

3. Marital Status

- 1) single
- 2) married
- 3) separated
- 4) divorced
- 5) common-law

4. Racial Origin

- 1) Caucasian
- 2) Negroid
- 3) Canadian Indian
- 4) Oriental
- 5) other - could you specify _____

5. Education - What is the last level of education that you attended?

- 1) grade 0-8
- 2) grade 9-11
- 3) grade 12-13
- 4) college diploma
- 5) university degree
- 6) graduate studies

6. Average Annual Income

- 1) under \$10,000
- 2) \$11,000-20,000
- 3) \$21,000-40,000
- 4) \$41,000-60,000
- 5) \$61,000-80,000
- 6) \$81,000-100,000
- 7) over \$100,000

7. a) Do you have other sources of income?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

7. b) If so, could you tell us what they are?

- 1) employment
- 2) government assistance
- 3) the sale of illegal drugs
- 4) other - could you specify _____

8. How long have you been pimping?

- 1) less than 1 year
- 2) 1-5 years
- 3) 5-10 years
- 4) 10-15 years
- 5) 15-20 years
- 6) over 20 years

9. a) Have you ever been charged with an adult criminal offense?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

9. b) As a juvenile (under the age of 16) were you ever charged with a delinquent offense?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

10. How many prostitutes do you pimp for?

- 1) less than 3 prostitutes
- 2) 3-6 prostitutes
- 3) 6-9 prostitutes
- 4) 9-12 prostitutes
- 5) 12-15 prostitutes
- 6) over 15 prostitutes

11. What is the average cost of the service provided by your prostitutes?

- 1) less than \$25
- 2) \$25-100
- 3) \$100-200
- 4) \$200-300
- 5) \$300-400
- 6) over \$400

12. What percentage of the above cost do you require that your prostitutes turn over to you?

- 1) 100%
- 2) 70-80%
- 3) 50-60%
- 4) 30-40%
- 5) less than 20%

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

1. Name of Agency _____
2. Position of Interviewees _____
3. Would you state the mandate of your agency as briefly as possible

4. Type of Agency
 - 1) Children's Aid
 - 2) Youth Services
 - 3) Probation
 - 4) Welfare
 - 5) Health
 - 6) Government (political)
 - 7) Citizen's Group
 - 8) Other
 - 9) Federal
 - 10) Provincial
 - 11) Municipal
 - 12) Volunteer
 - 13) Private
 - 14) Other
5. What is the age range of your client population?
 - 1) under 18
 - 2) 18-25
 - 3) 25-40
 - 4) 40-60
 - 5) over 60
 - 6) other
6. What is the distance from your agency to the nearest known area of street prostitution?
 - 1) less than one mile
 - 2) 1-2 miles
 - 3) 2-5 miles
 - 4) more than 5 miles

7. To the best of your knowledge, have any of your clients engaged in activities related to prostitution?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

If no, end questionnaire.

If yes, continue

8. How many clients make use of your service annually?

- 1) less than 100
- 2) 100-300
- 3) 300-500
- 4) 500-700
- 5) 700-1,000
- 6) over 1,000

9. Of these clients how many are involved in activities related to prostitution?

- 1) less than 10
- 2) 10-25
- 3) 25-50
- 4) 50-100
- 5) 100-200
- 6) over 200

10. What percentage of these clients are involved in:

- 1) prostitution-street
- 2) pimping
- 3) customers
- 4) prostitution - escort service and massage parlours

11. Of this client population what percentage is: a) male or b) female?

- 1) 100% female - 0% male
- 2) 75% female - 25% male
- 3) 50% female - 50% male
- 4) 25% female - 75% male
- 5) 0% female - 100% male

12. Which services do these clients require?

- 1) counselling/emotional, psychological
- 2) counselling/health, medical
- 3) counselling/legal
- 4) placement/housing
- 5) protection/shelter
- 6) daycare
- 7) financial
- 8) other

13. Would you name the specific programs in your agency used by these clients:

14. How do clients come in contact with your agency?

- 1) walk in/phone in
- 2) advertising (flyers, newspapers)
- 3) agency referrals
- 4) word of mouth
- 5) social work intervention
- 6) police
- 7) other

If 7, then ask: What are the other methods?

15. What is required for a client to obtain your services?

- 1) needs test
- 2) referral
- 3) funding source
- 4) individual fee
- 5) service free of charge
- 6) other

If 6, then ask: What other requirements are necessary?

16. What problems do you perceive are associated with prostitution in your city?

17. Estimate the number of prostitutes working visibly in your city:

- 1) male
- 2) female
- 3) juvenile

18. Do you feel these problems are being adequately dealt with under present legislation?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
19. Do you feel this client group is being serviced properly? Explain.
 - 1) increased social services
 - 2) what kind
20. Any additional remarks? (i.e., would you like to see law changed? - if at all?)

APPENDIX E

AGENCIES - STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

1. **Toronto** - 11 interviews
 - i) Under 21 - Covenant House
 - ii) Inner City Youth Program
 - iii) John Howard Society (Metro Toronto)
 - iv) Central Toronto Youth Services
 - v) Catholic Children's Aid
 - vi) John Howard Society (Peel)
 - vii) YMCA - Stopover Youth Hostel
 - viii) Huntley Youth Services - Big Sisters Association
 - ix) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - x) Salvation Army
 - xi) Hassle Free Clinic
2. **Timmins** - none
3. **Sudbury** - 3 interviews
 - i) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - ii) Northern Regional Recovery Home
 - iii) YWCA - Geneva House
4. **Hamilton** - 3 interviews
 - i) Alternatives for Youth
 - ii) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - iii) Wesley Centre - Drop-In
5. **Niagara Falls - St. Catharines** - 1 interview
 - i) John Howard Society (Niagara Region)
6. **London** - 4 interviews
 - i) London Family Court Clinic
 - ii) Western Ontario Therapeutic Community Hostel (Watch)
 - iii) London Family & Children's Services - street worker
 - iv) Children's Aid (see above)
7. **Windsor** - 4 interviews
 - i) New Beginnings (Essex County)
 - ii) Salvation Army
 - iii) The Inn of Windsor
 - iv) John Howard Society
8. **Ottawa** - 3 interviews
 - i) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - ii) Anglican Social Services - Centre 454
 - iii) Youth Services Bureau - Post 15 Program

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE TO LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL

1. Types of prostitution - male, female, child
2. Location of prostitutes
3. Estimated numbers - increase
4. Link to crime
5. Link to drugs
6. Link to organized crime
7. Movements of prostitutes
8. Pimping practices
9. Economic effects
10. Relationship to economic conditions
11. Responses from public
12. Complaints from public
13. Bawdy houses - records
14. Enforcement procedures
15. Effectiveness of the law
16. Use of changes in the law
17. How they would like to see it changed
18. Are prostitutes help to police? How?
19. Available statistics

APPENDIX G
ADDITIONAL TABLES

Do you pay rent	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	0 0.0%	13 100%	0 0.0%
Street	0 0.0%	22 84.6%	4 15.4%
Other	0 0.0%	6 75.0%	2 25.0%
Total	0 0.0%	49 84.5%	9 15.5%

n/a= no answer

Do you live with someone	n/a	Yes	No
Male	2 18.2%	6 54.5%	3 27.3%
Escort	4 30.8%	6 46.2%	3 23.1%
Street	1 3.7%	22 81.5%	4 14.8%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	7 11.9%	39 65.1%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

Are you or Have you been married	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	0 90.9%
Escort	0 0.0%	6 46.2%	7 53.8%
Street	0 0.0%	4 14.8%	23 85.2%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	0 0.0%	15 25.4%	44 74.6%

n/a= no answer

Seasonal	n/a	More in Summer	More in Winter	No Difference
Mate	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	5 45.5%
Escort	1 7.7%	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	11 84.6%
Street	9 34.6%	4 15.4%	3 11.5%	10 38.5%
Other	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	2 25.0%
Total	16 27.6%	7 12.1%	7 12.1%	28 48.3%

n/a= no answer

Do you have children	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	5 38.5%	8 61.5%
Street	1 3.7%	9 33.3%	17 63.0%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	2 3.4%	20 33.9%	37 62.7%

n/a= not applicable

Who looks after children	n/a	Self	Daycare	Not with me	Husband, Boyfriend
Male	9 81.8%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	1 9.1%
Escort	8 61.5%	2 15.4%	2 7.7%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%
Street	18 66.7%	1 3.7%	2 7.4%	4 14.8%	2 7.4%
Other	4 50.0%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Total	39 66.1%	4 6.8%	7 11.9%	6 10.2%	3 5.1%

n/a= not applicable

Types of Prostitution	Stripper	Escort	Body Rub	Street	Bawdy House	Hotel
Male	1 9.1%	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	10 90.9%	7 63.6%	6 54.5%
Escort	3 23.1%	13 100%	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	4 30.8%	7 53.8%
Street	7 26.9%	5 19.2%	3 11.5%	26 100%	4 15.4%	9 34.6%
Other	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	2 25.0%	4 50.0%	3 37.5%
Total	13 22.4%	19 32.8%	11 19.0%	40 69.0%	19 32.8%	25 43.1%

Days worked/week	n/a	1-3	3-5	Everyday
Male	0 0.0%	2 18.2%	3 27.3%	6 54.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	4 30.8%	5 38.5%	4 30.8%
Other	3 37.5%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	1 12.5%
Total	3 5.2%	11 19.0%	23 39.7%	21 36.2%

n/a= no answer

Do you use Social Agencies	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	6 54.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	2 15.4%	11 84.6%
Street	1 3.7%	18 66.7%	8 29.6%
Other	0 0.0%	6 75.0%	2 25.0%
Total	1 1.7%	31 52.5%	27 45.8%

n/a= no answer

HOW ARE YOU TREATED BY	n/a	Well	Ok	Badly
SOCIAL AGENCIES				
Male	4 36.4%	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	2 18.2%
Escort	11 84.6%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%
Street	11 40.7%	6 22.2%	1 3.7%	9 33.3%
Other	2 25.0%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%	1 12.5%
Total	26 44.1%	11 18.6%	8 13.6%	12 20.3%

n/a= no answer

(cont'd)

LAWYERS

Male	4	5	2	0
	36.4%	45.5%	18.2%	0.0%
Escort	3	5	3	2
	23.1%	38.5%	23.1%	15.4%
Street	15	5	6	1
	55.6%	18.5%	22.2%	3.7%
Other	1	4	2	1
	12.5%	50.0%	25.0%	12.5%
Total	23	19	13	4
	39.0%	32.2%	22.0%	6.8%

n/a= no answer

DOCTORS

Male	4	6	1	0
	36.4%	54.5%	9.1%	0.0%
Escort	4	5	3	1
	30.8%	38.5%	23.1%	7.7%
Street	11	7	6	3
	40.7%	25.9%	22.2%	11.1%
Other	3	3	2	0
	37.5%	37.5%	25.0%	0.0%
Total	23	21	12	4
	39.0%	35.6%	20.3%	6.8%

n/a= no answer

OTHERS

Male	8	0	3	0
	72.7%	0.0%	27.3%	0.0%
Escort	7	4	2	0
	53.8%	30.8%	15.4%	0.0%
Street	20	1	4	2
	74.1%	3.7%	14.8%	7.4%
Other	6	1	0	1
	75.0%	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%
Total	41	6	9	3
	69.5%	10.2%	15.3%	5.1%

n/a= no answer

Do girls on the Street help each other	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	10 90.9%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	4 30.8%	8 61.5%
Street	1 3.7%	16 59.3%	10 37.0%
Other	2 25.0%	5 62.5%	1 12.5%
Total	4 6.8%	35 59.3%	20 33.9%

n/a= no answer

How do people feel about you	n/a	accept	Don't Accept	Don't Know
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	5 45.5%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	3 23.1%	3 23.1%	6 46.2%
Street	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	21 77.8%	6 22.2%
Other	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	9 15.3%	33 55.9%	16 27.1%

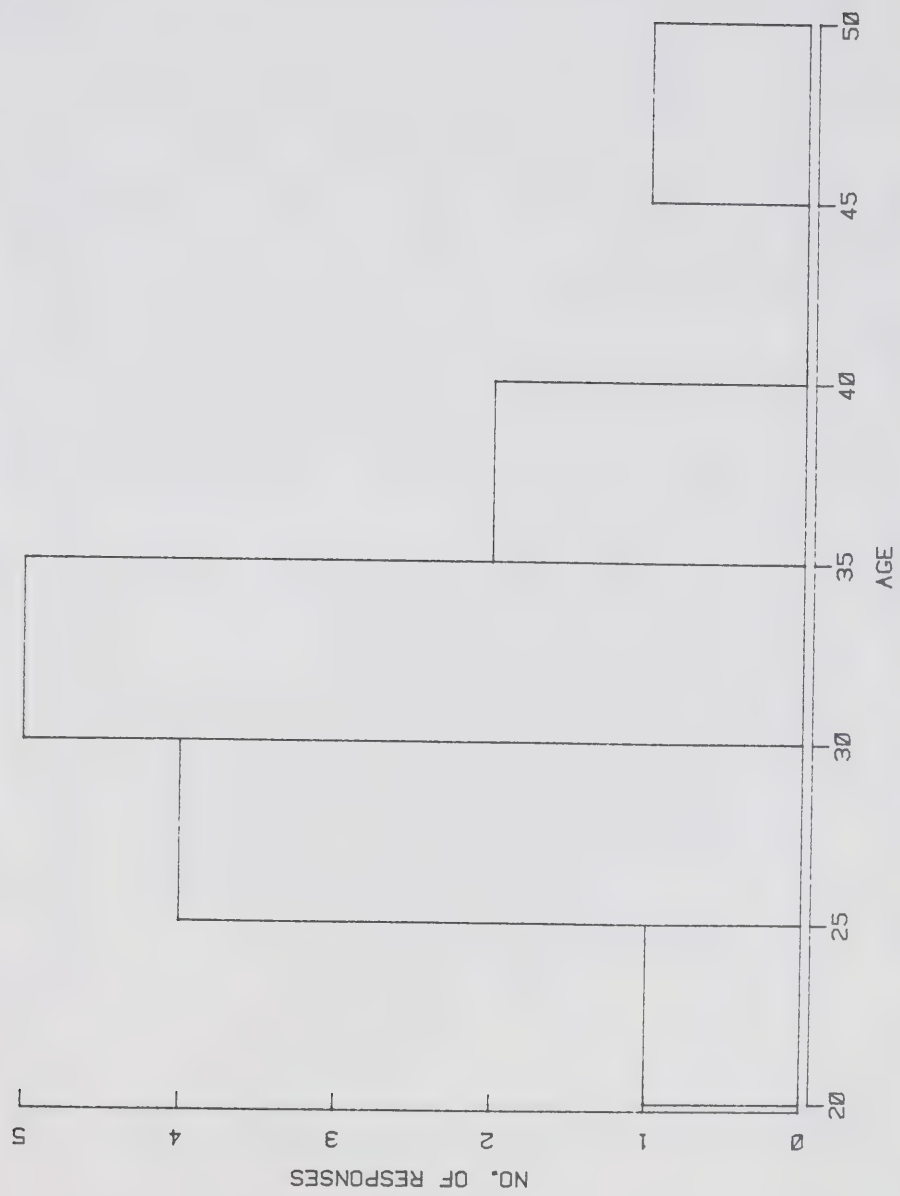
n/a= no answer

What would you change	Less police harassment	Legalize	Decriminalize	Less public hassle	Safety	Another job	Nothing	n/a
Male	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	3 23.1%	5 38.5%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	3 23.1%	0 0.0%
Street	6 23.1%	3 11.5%	2 7.7%	1 3.8%	10 38.5%	4 15.4%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%
Total	10 17.2%	10 17.2%	7 12.1%	4 6.9%	11 19.0%	8 13.8%	6 10.3%	2 3.4%

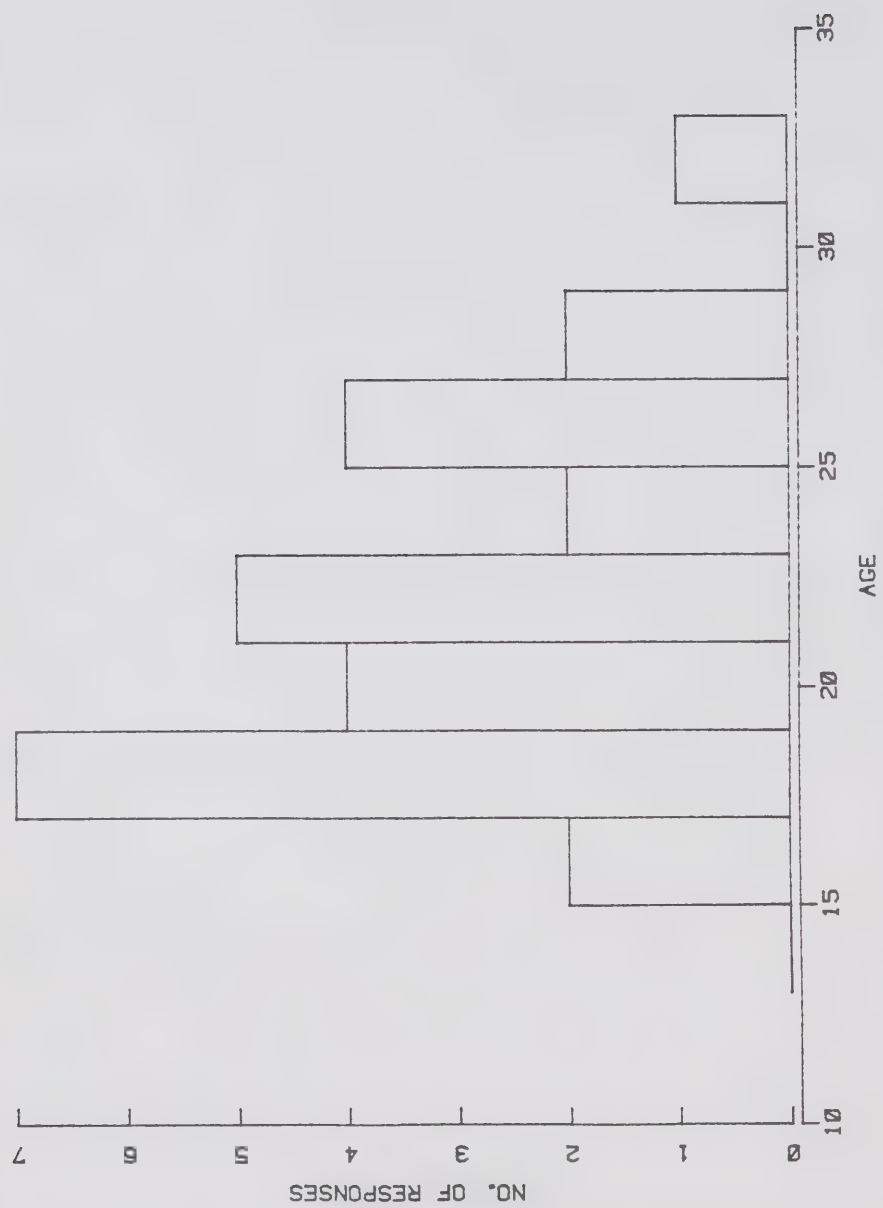
n/a= no answer

APPENDIX H

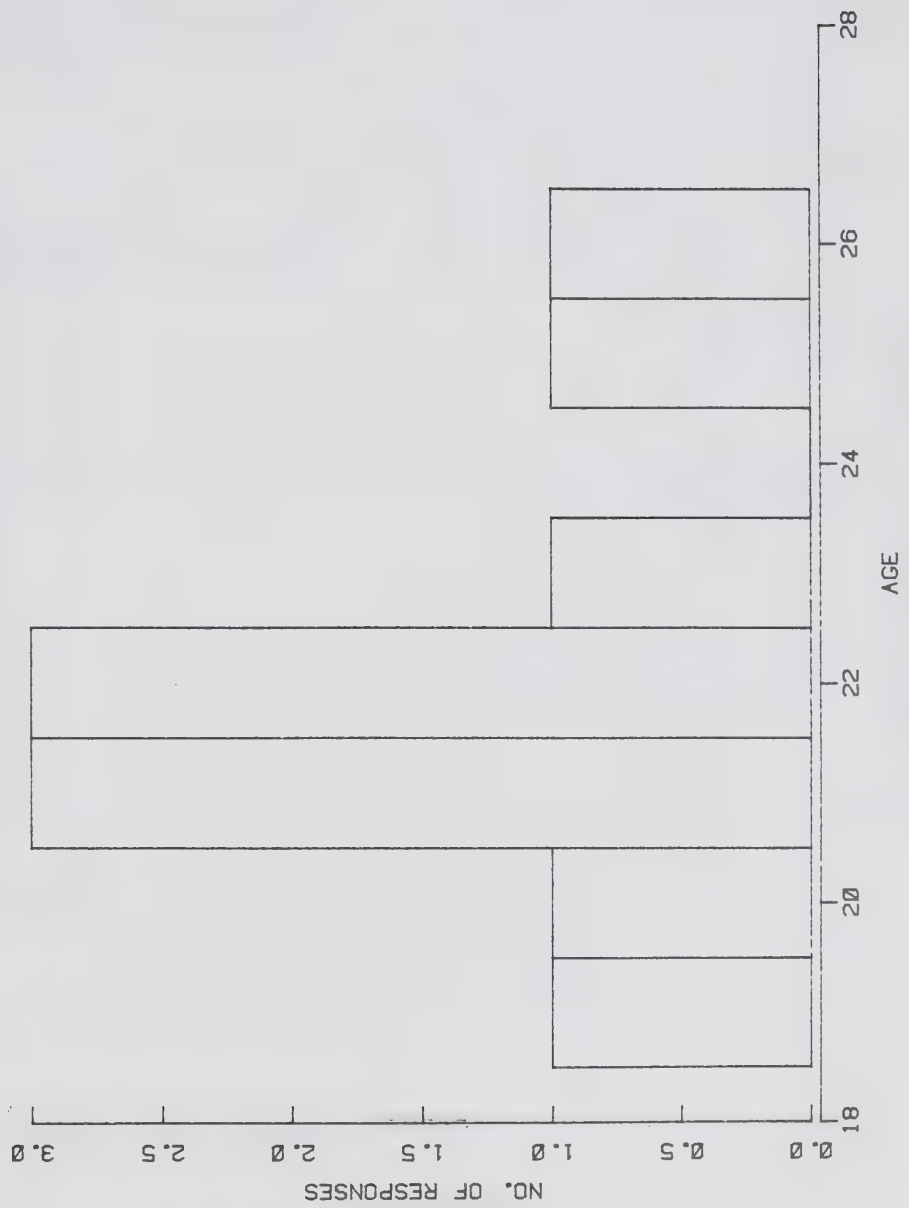
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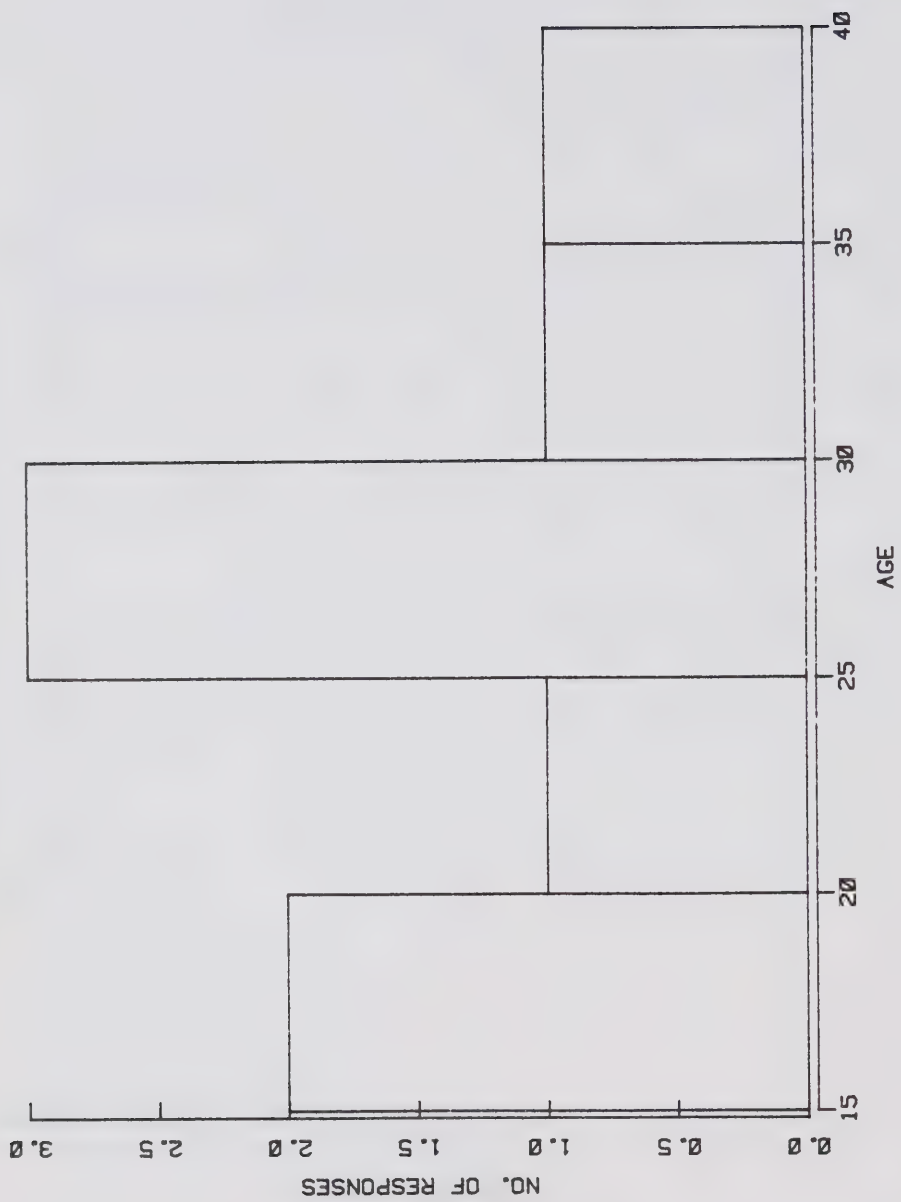
AGE DISTRIBUTION-STREET PROSTITUTES



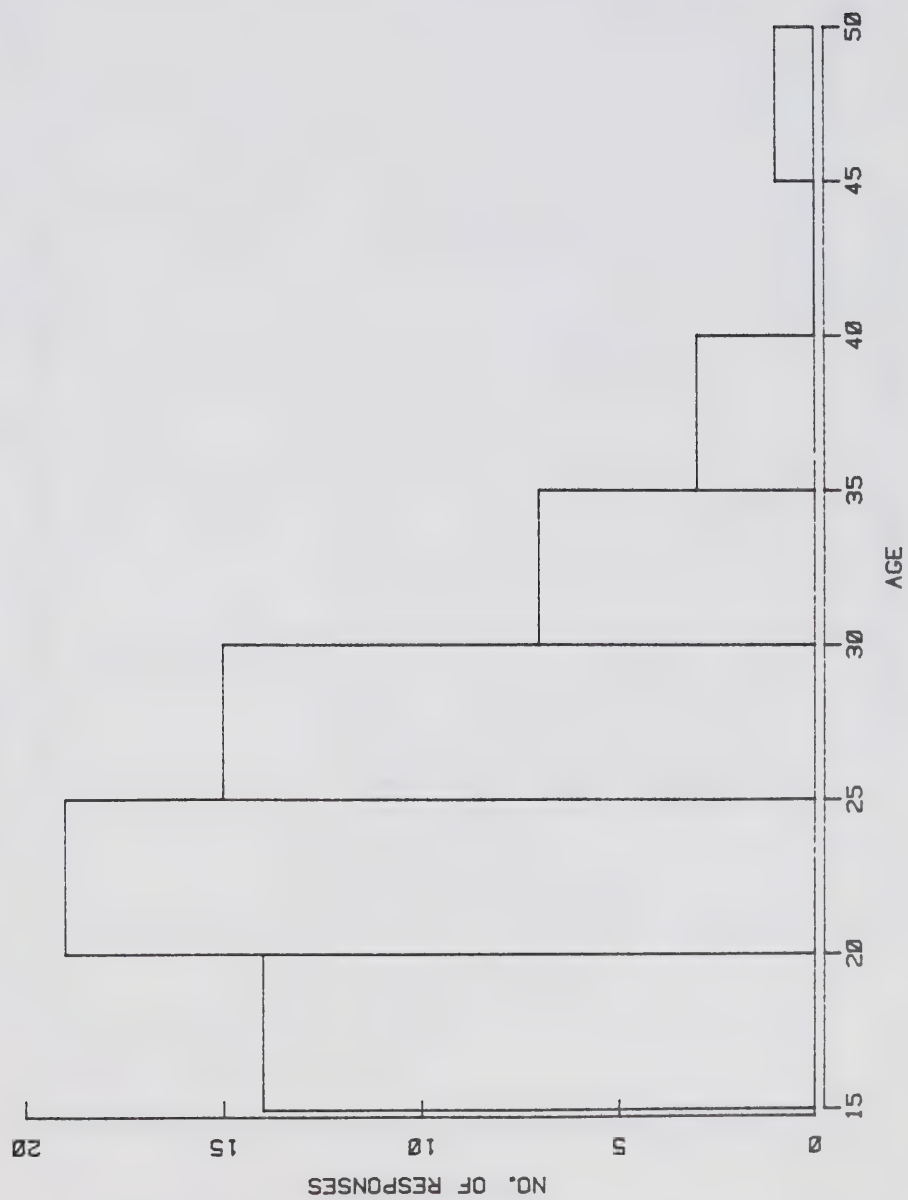
AGE DISTRIBUTION-MALE PROSTITUTES



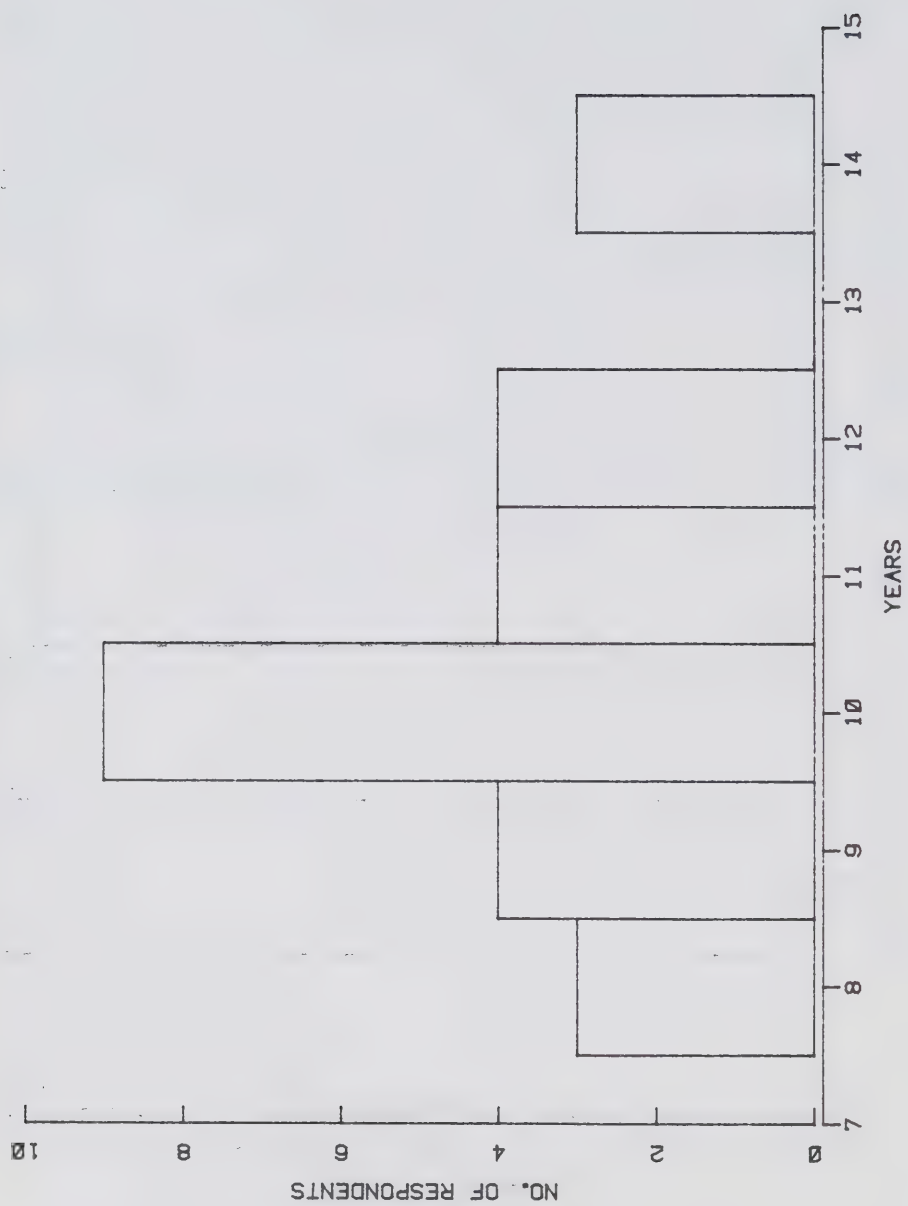
AGE DISTRIBUTION-OTHERS



AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR THE WHOLE SAMPLE



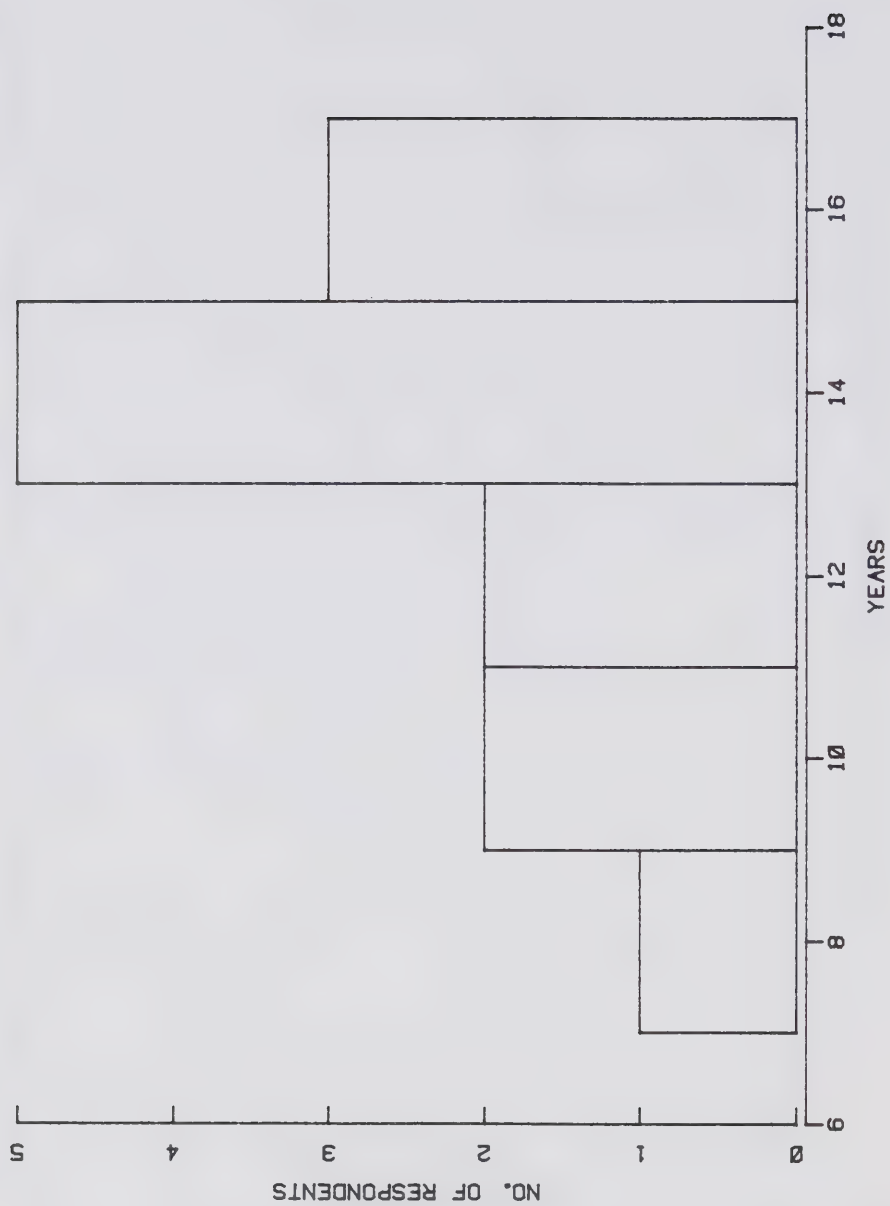
YEARS IN SCHOOL-STREET PROSTITUTES



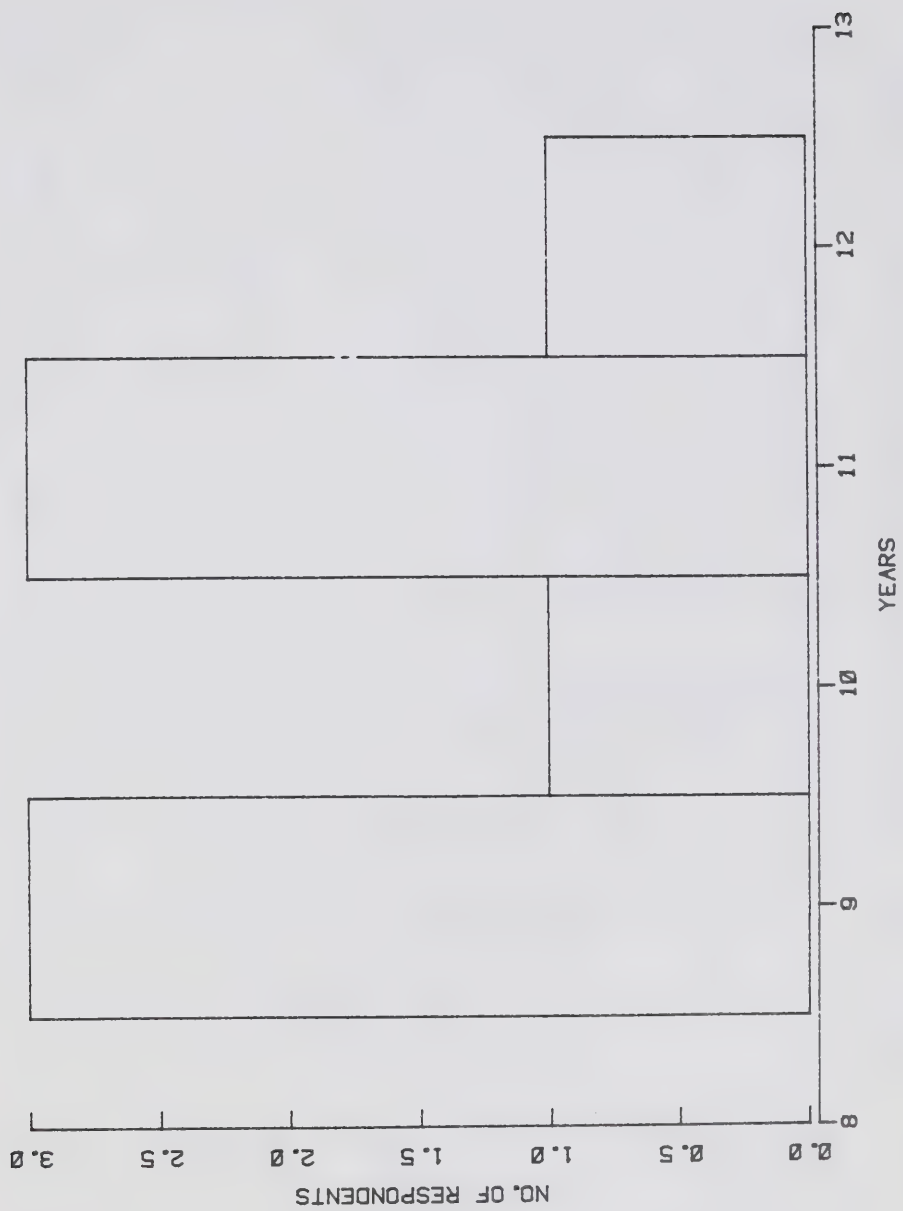
YEARS IN SCHOOL—MALE PROSTITUTES



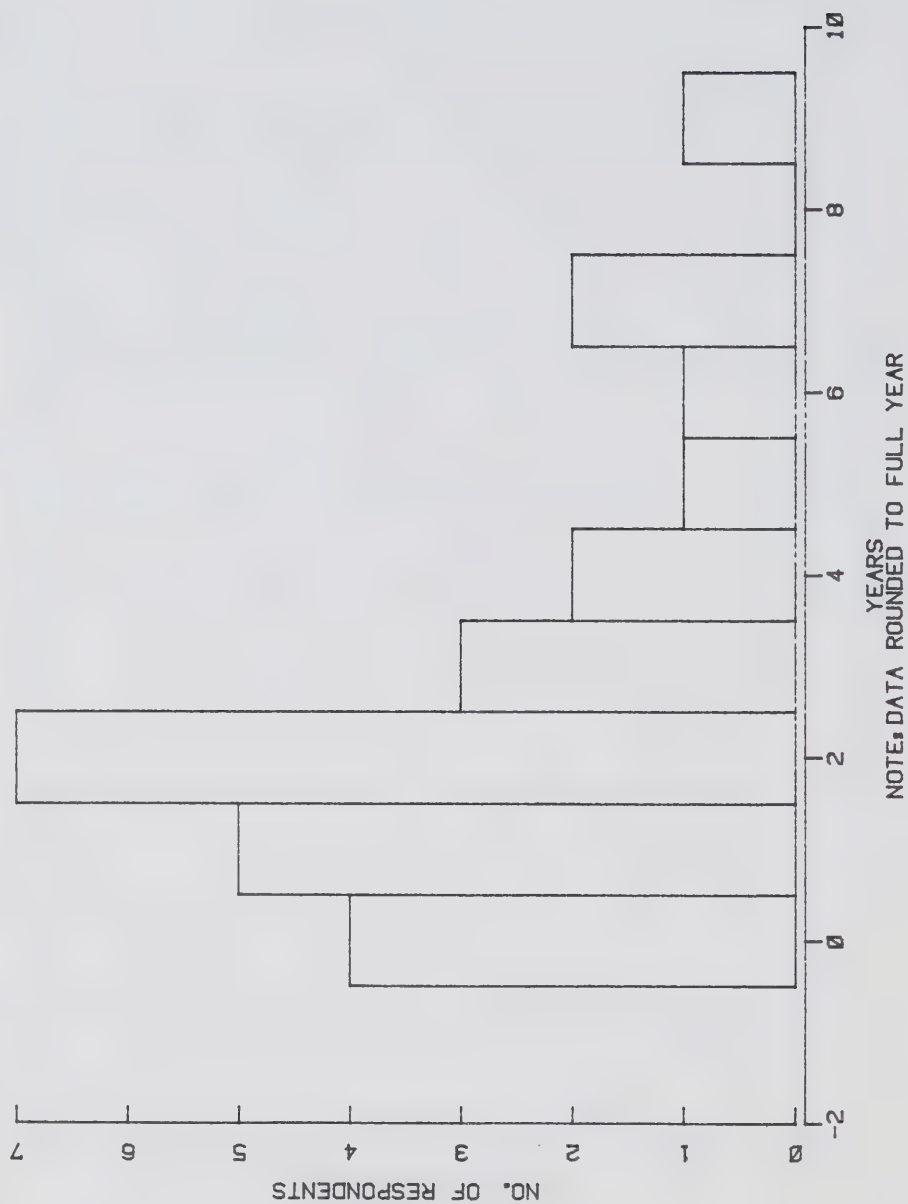
YEARS IN SCHOOL-CALL GIRLS



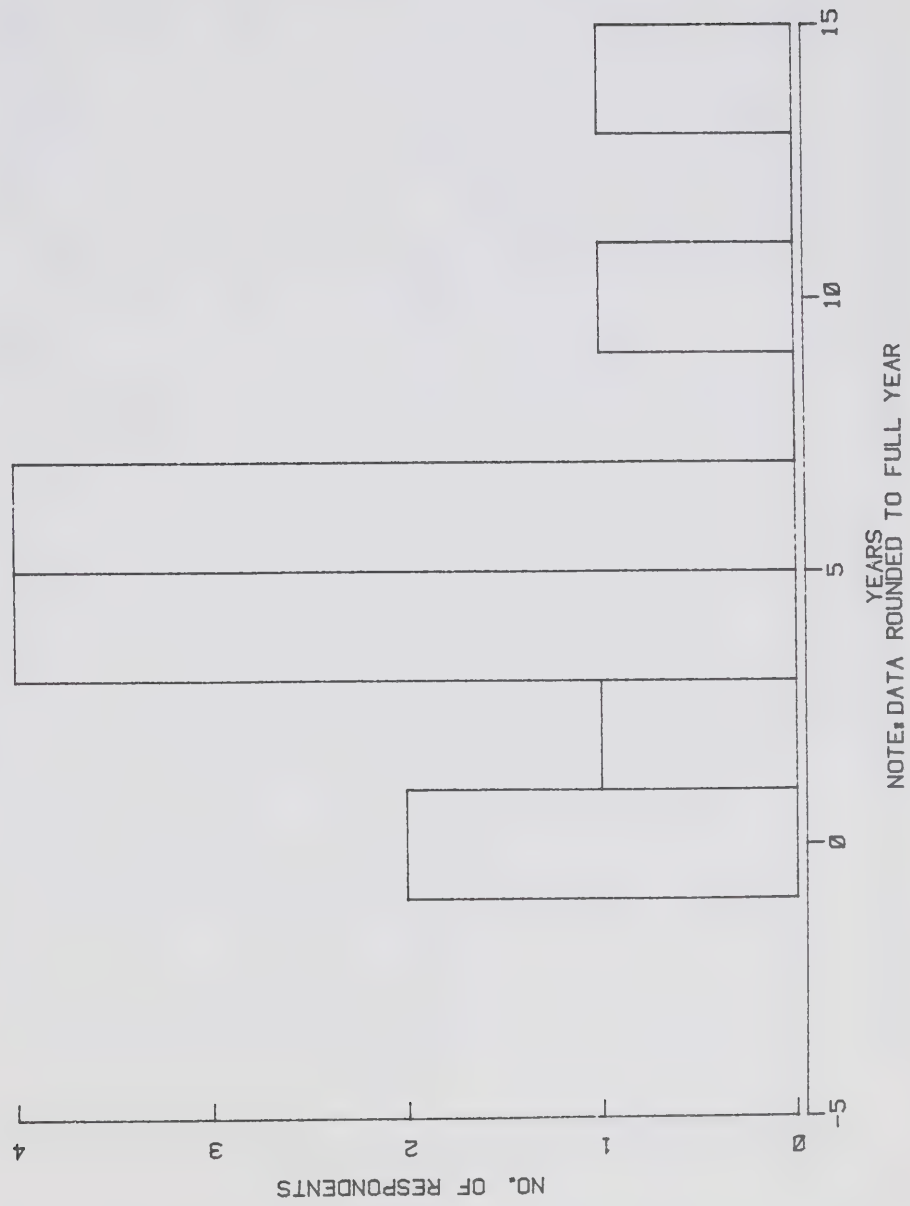
YEARS IN SCHOOL-OTHERS



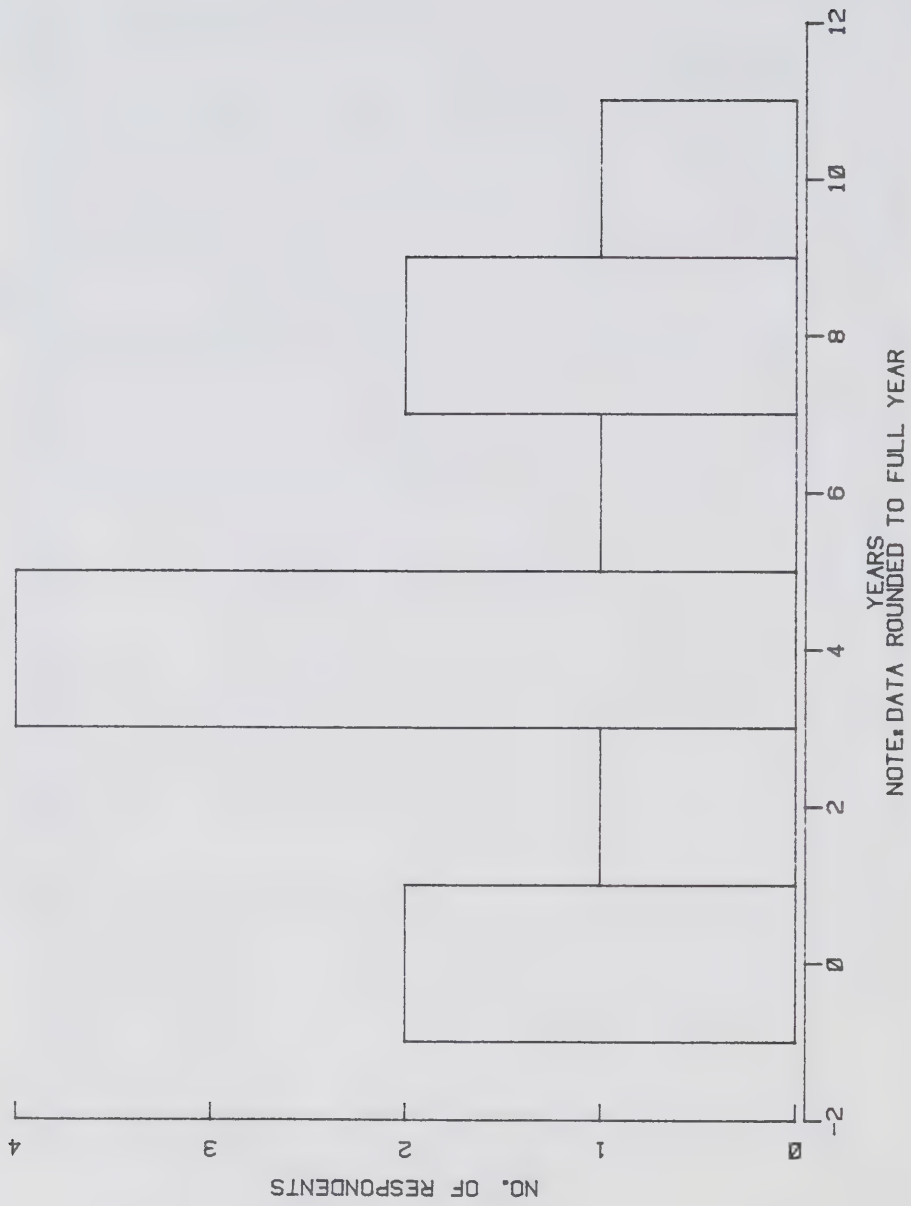
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY-STREET PROSTITUTES



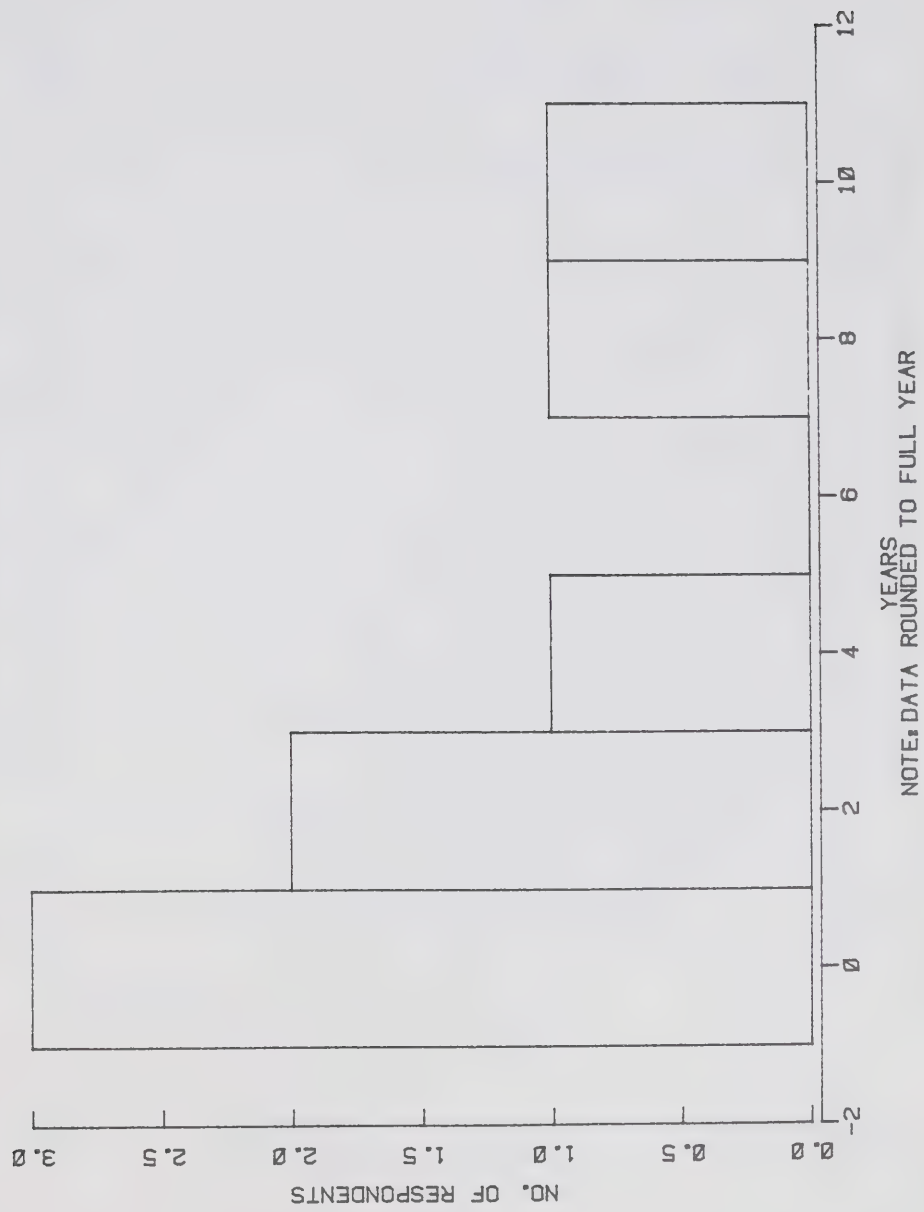
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY-CALL GIRLS



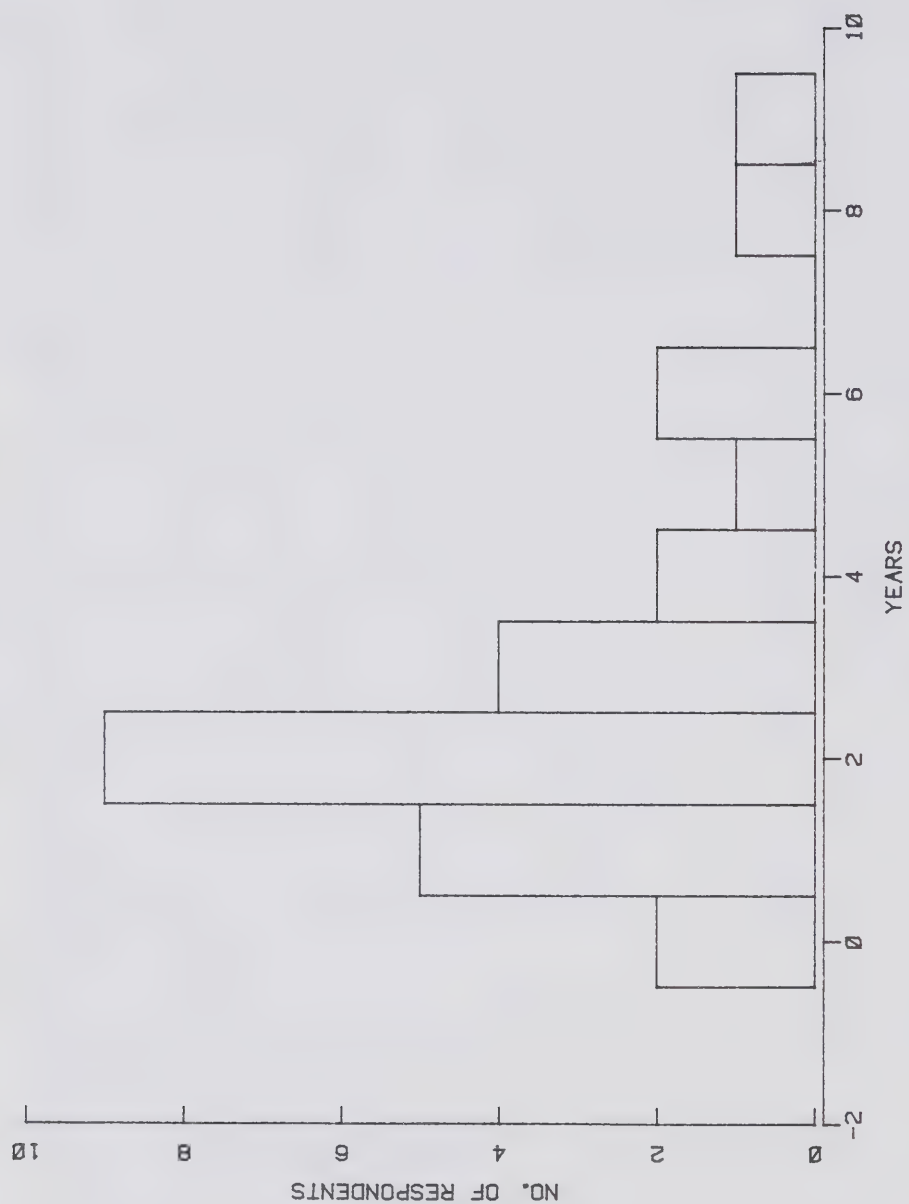
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY-MALE PROSTITUTES



LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY-OTHERS



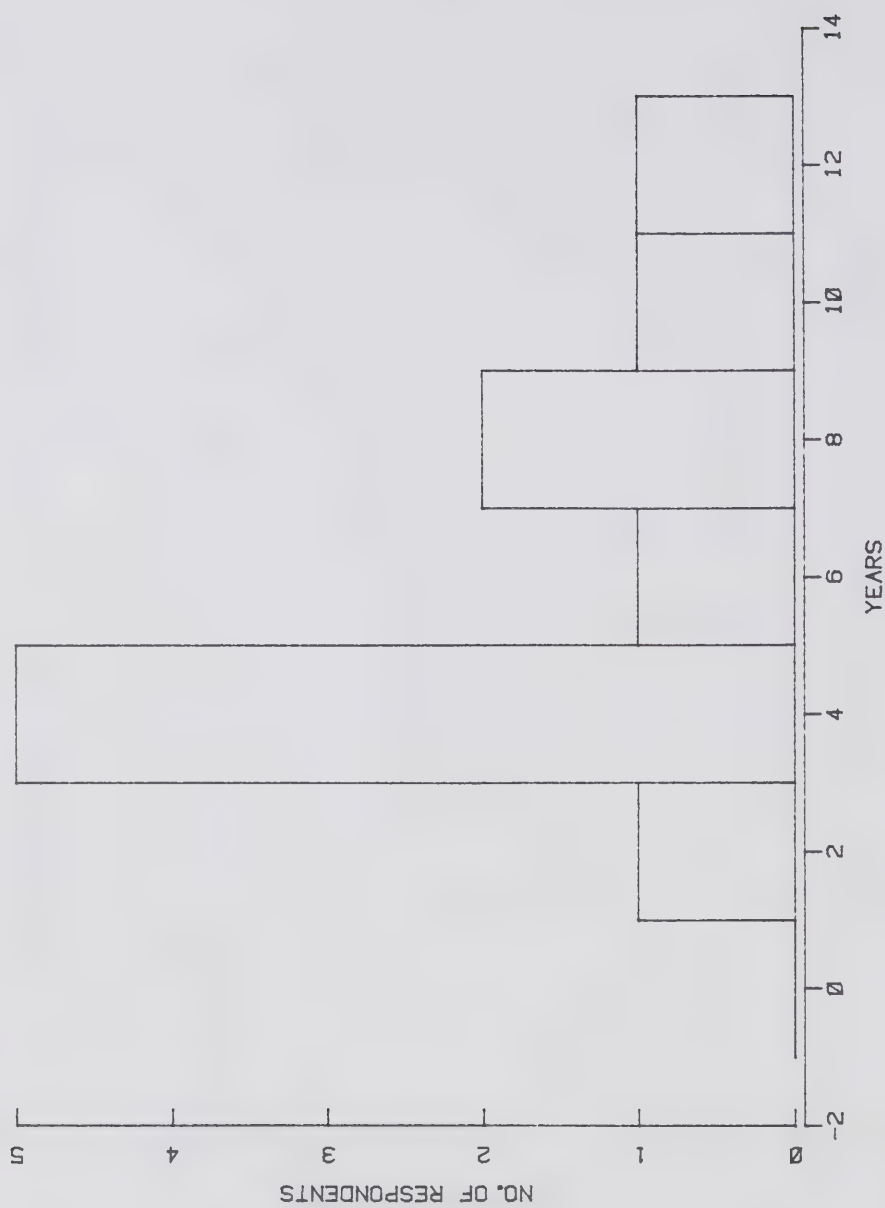
YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-STREET PROSTITUTES



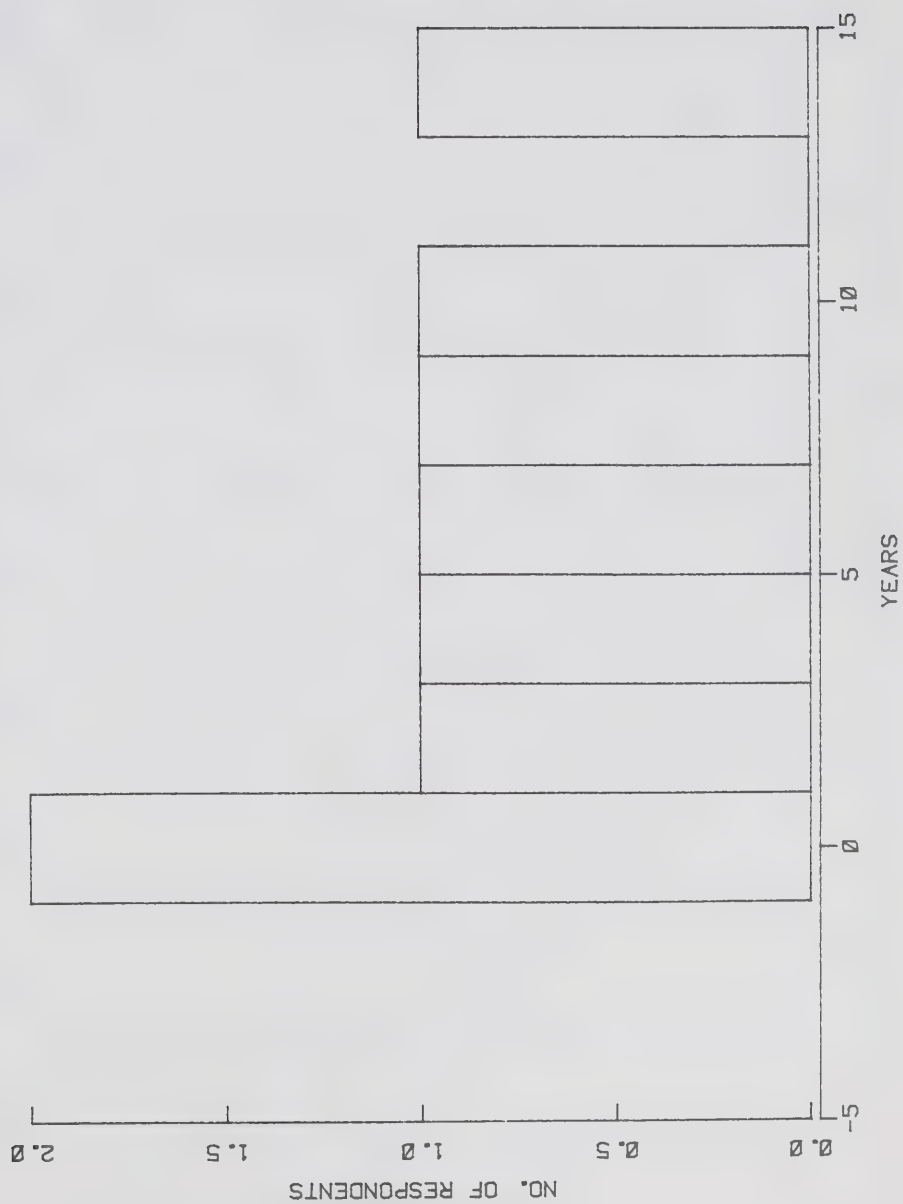
YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-CALL GIRLS



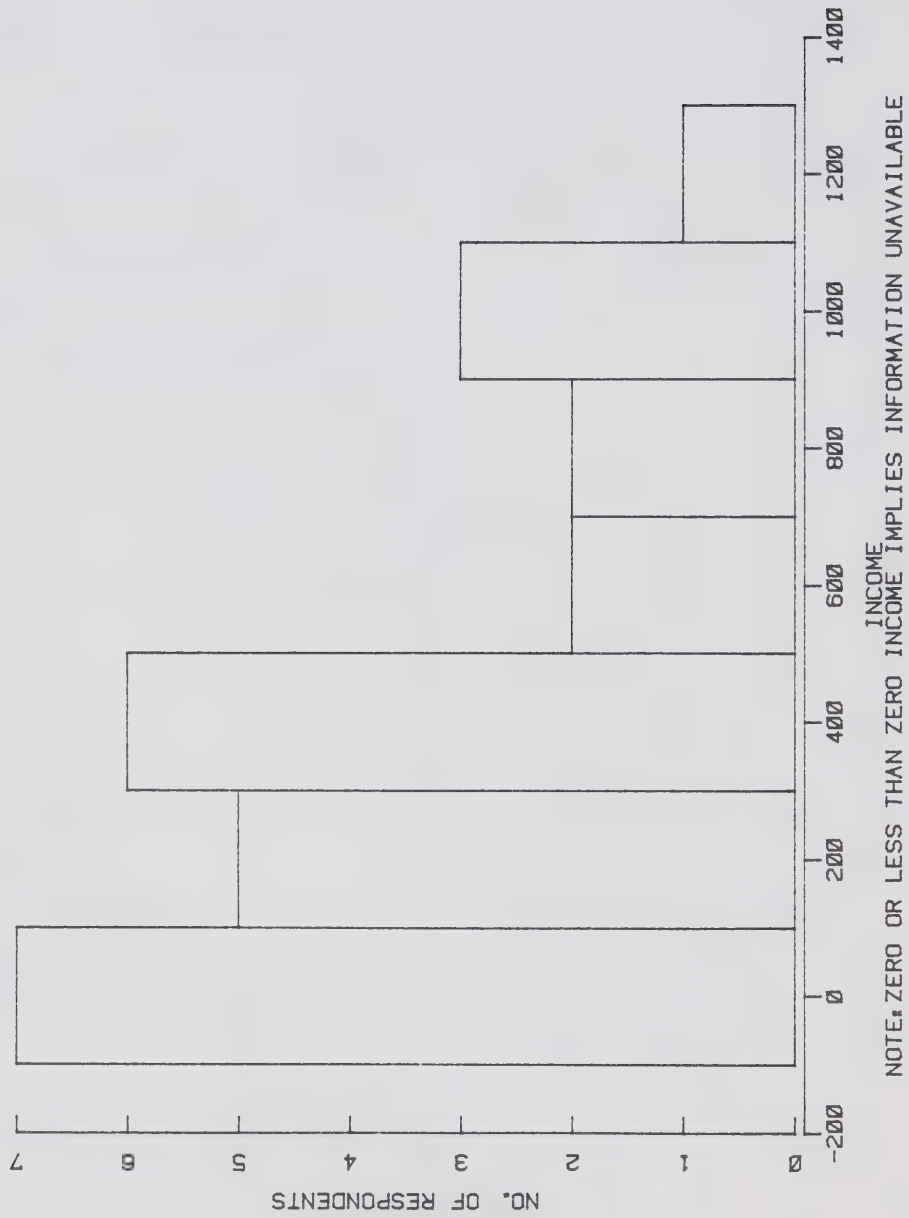
YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-MALE PROSTITUTES



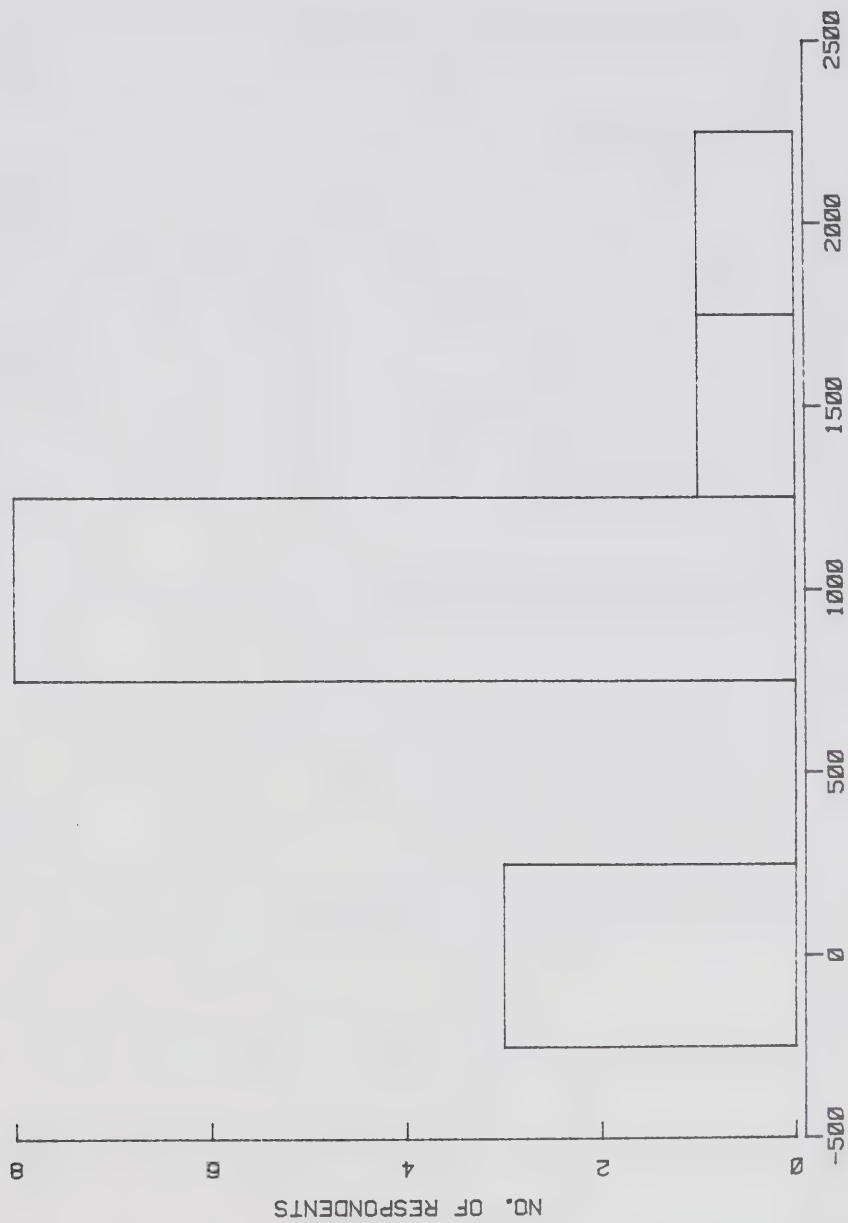
YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-OTHERS



WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION-STREET PROSTITUTES

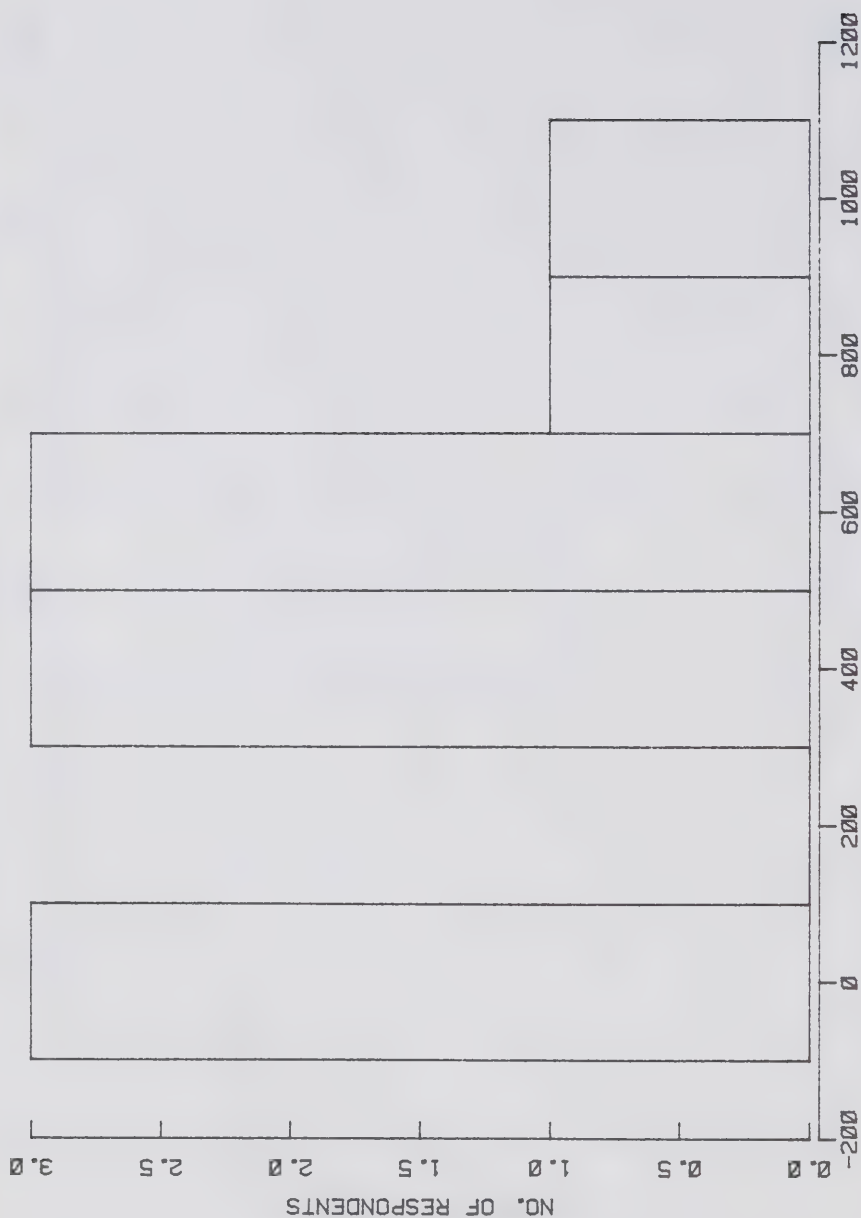


WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION-CALL GIRLS



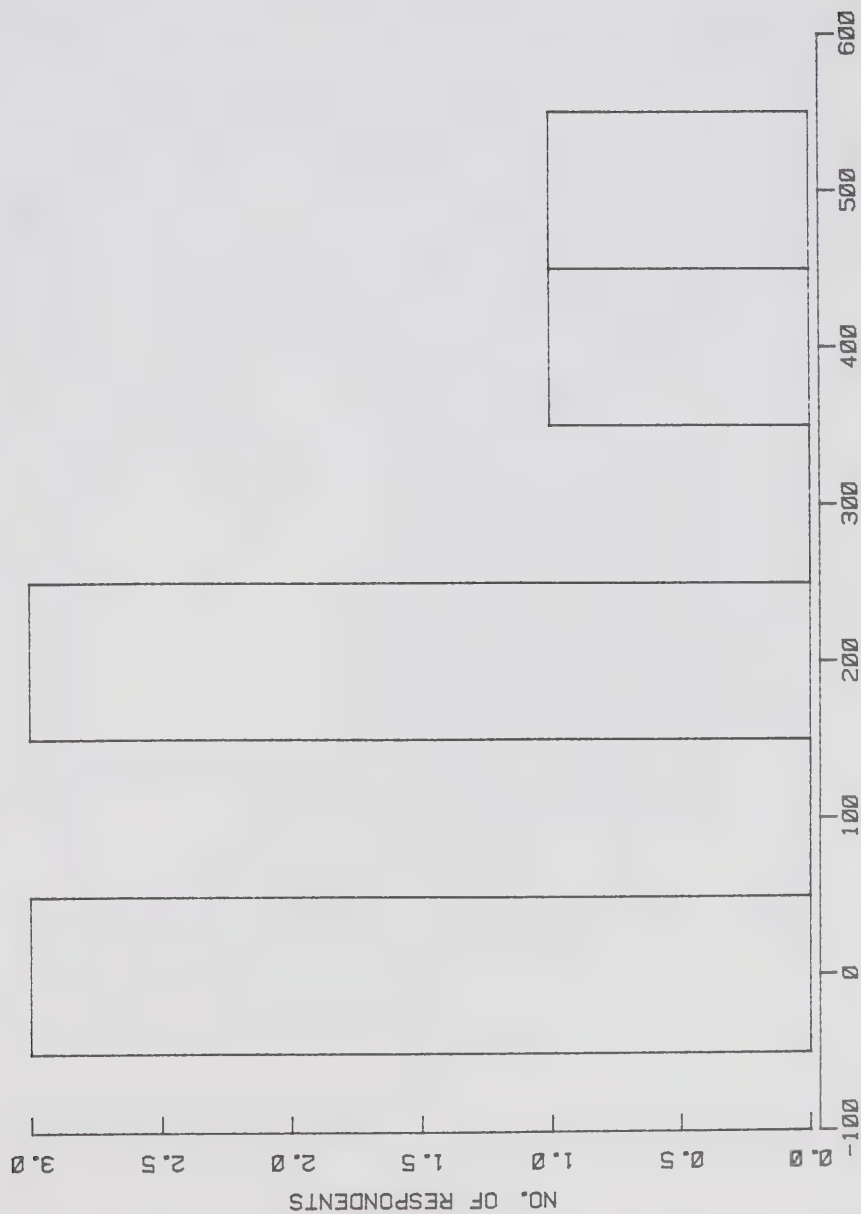
NOTE: ZERO OR LESS THAN ZERO INCOME IMPLIES INFORMATION UNAVAILABLE

WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION--MALE PROSTITUTES



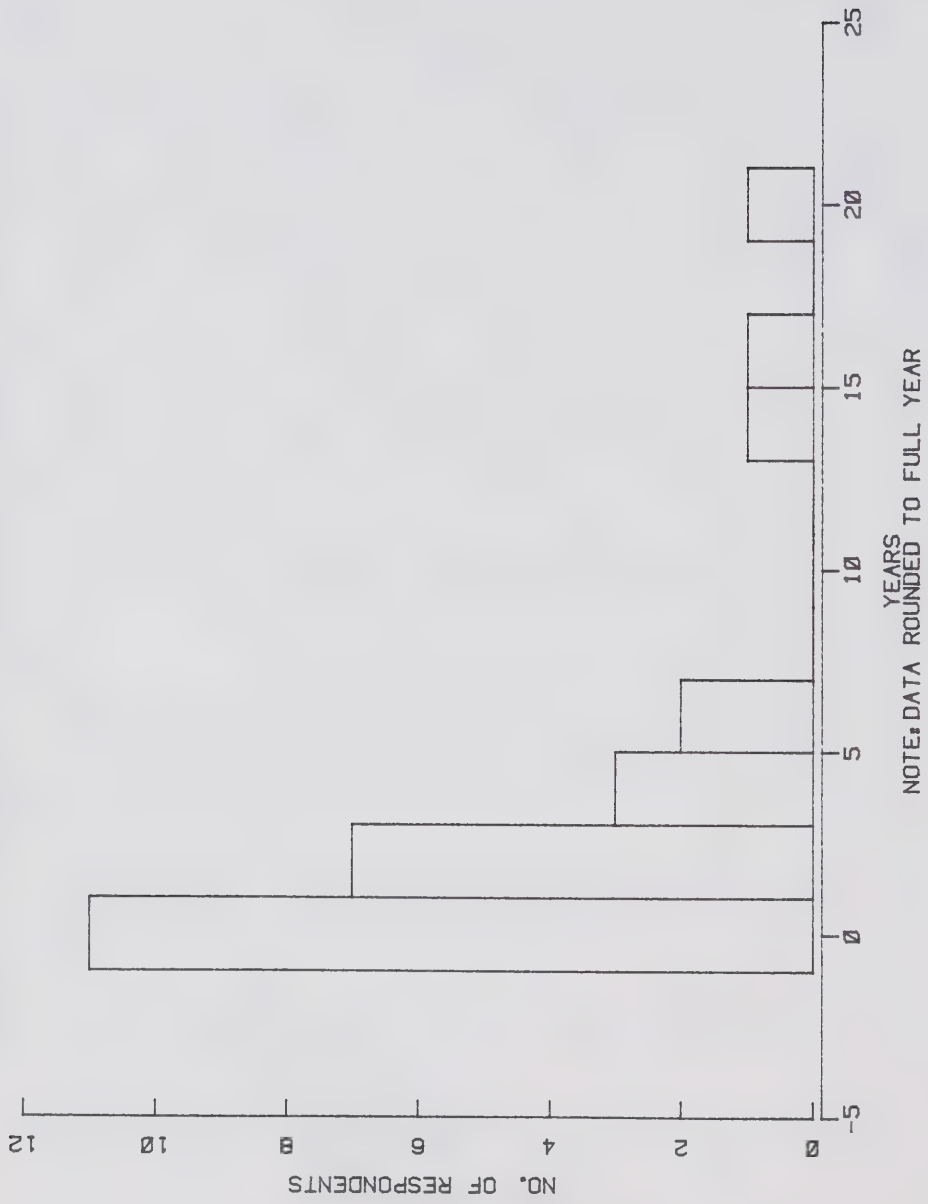
NOTE: ZERO OR LESS THAN ZERO INCOME IMPLIES INFORMATION UNAVAILABLE

WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION--OTHERS

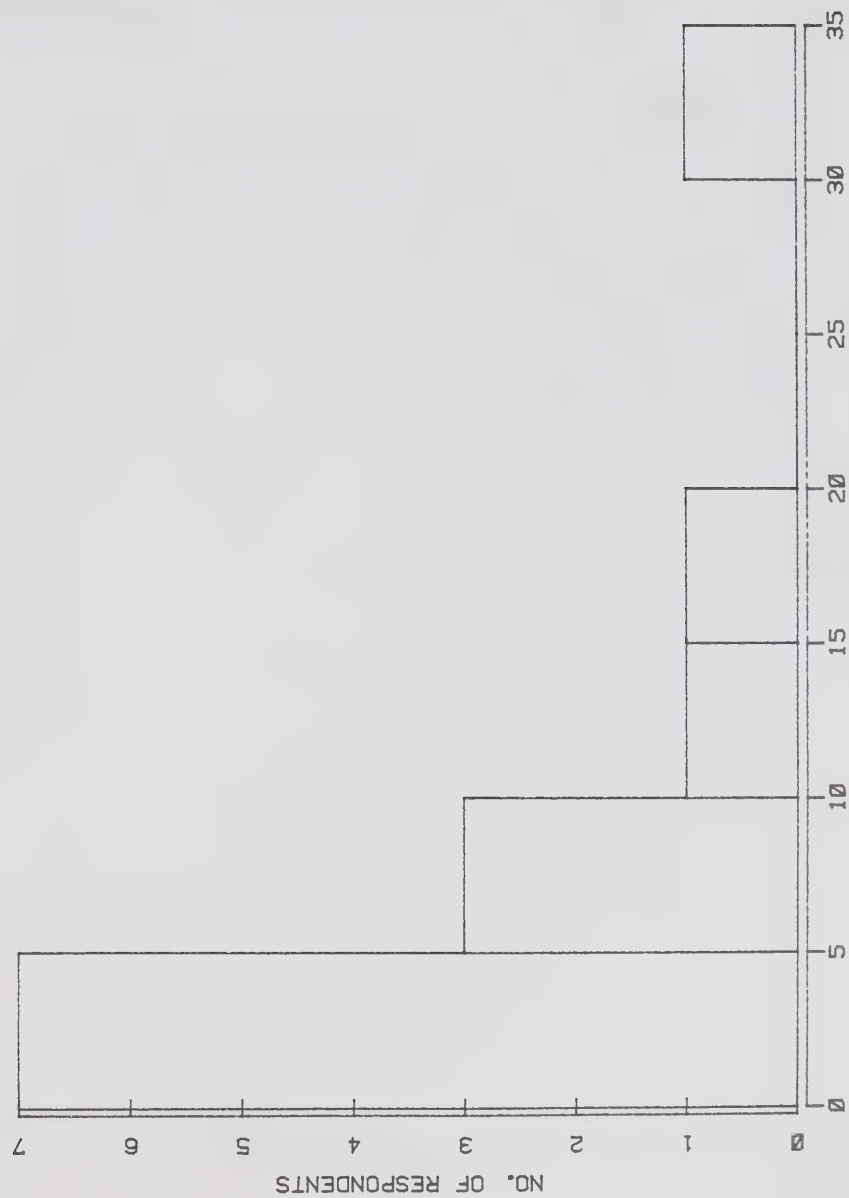


NOTE: ZERO OR LESS THAN ZERO INCOME IMPLIES INFORMATION UNAVAILABLE

LONGEST TIME IN ONE PLACE-STREET PROSTITUTES

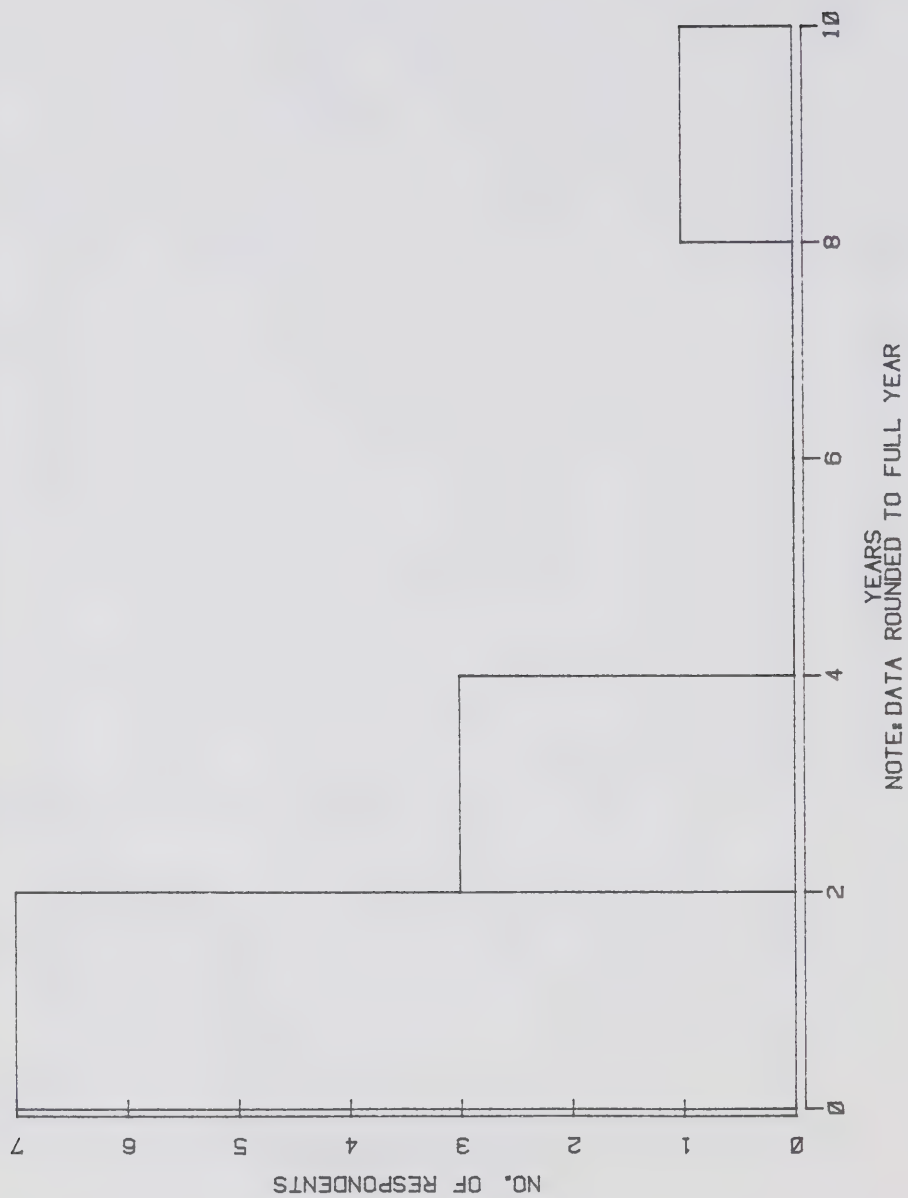


LONGEST TIME IN ONE PLACE-CALL GIRLS

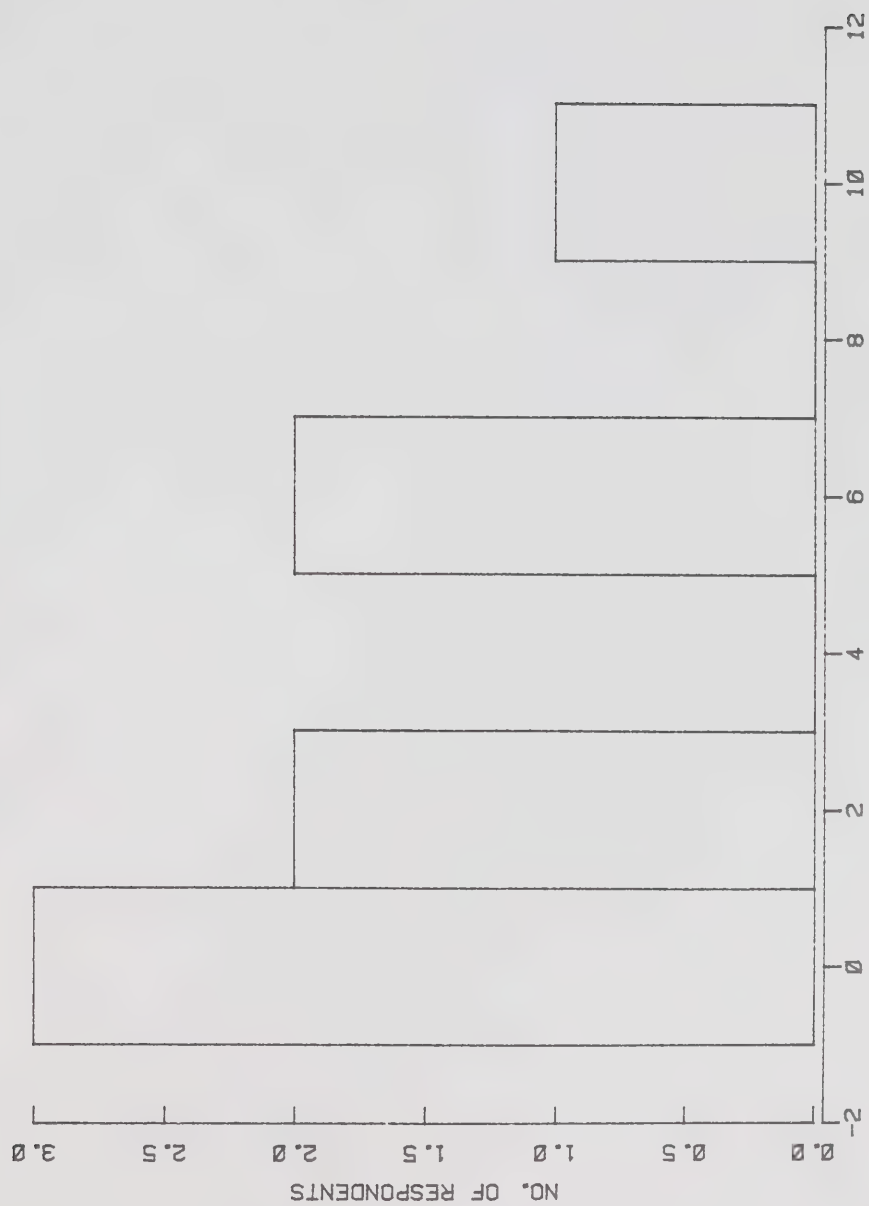


NOTE: DATA ROUNDED TO FULL YEAR

LONGEST TIME IN ONE PLACE-MALE PROSTITUTES



LONGEST TIME IN PLACE-OTHERS



NOTE: DATA ROUNDED TO FULL YEAR

